

# HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. XXXV-1986



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

## HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

### Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

#### Editorial Board

##### *Editors :*

Prof. Dr. Jozef IJsewijn (Leuven-Belgium); Dr. Gilbert Tournoy (Leuven);  
Dr. Constant Matheeußen (Brussel); Dr. Dirk Sacré (Leuven)

##### *Associate Editors :*

Prof. Dr. Leonard Forster (Cambridge); Prof. Claude-Henri Frèches  
(Aix-en-Provence); † Prof. Dr. Veljko Gortan (Zagreb); Prof. Dr. M. Miglio  
(Viterbo); Prof. Dr. Fred Nichols (New York); Prof. Dr. Jan Öberg  
(Stockholm); Mgr. Dr. José Ruyschaert (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana);  
Prof. Dr. Lidia Winniczuk (Warszawa); Prof. Dr. D. Wuttke (Bamberg).

##### *Editorial Assistants :*

Drs. Marcus De Schepper; Mrs J. IJsewijn-Jacobs; Dr. Godelieve  
Tournoy-Thoen.

\*

Volumes 1 through 16 were edited by the late Mgr. Henry de Vocht from 1928 to 1961 as a series of monographs on the history of humanism at Louvain, especially in the *Collegium Trilingue*. These volumes are obtainable in a reprint edition.

Beginning with volume 17 (1968) HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA appears annually as a *Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*.

Orders for separate volumes and standing orders should be sent to the publisher: *Leuven University Press*, Krakenstraat 3, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium)

Librarians who wish for an exchange with *Humanistica Lovaniensia* should apply to the Librarian of the University Library of Leuven (K.U.L.): Dr. J. Roegiers, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ladeuzeplein 22, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).

Manuscripts for publication should be submitted (2 ex.) to a member of the editorial board. They should follow the prescriptions of the *MHRA Style Book*, published by W. S. Maney, Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL, England.

Contributors will receive twenty offprints of their articles free of charge.

Address of the Editor: Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Faculteitsgebouw Letteren en Wijsbegeerte, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

**HUMANISTICA  
LOVANIENSIA**

**JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES**

**Vol. XXXV-1986**



**LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS**



*Gepubliceerd met de steun  
van de Universitaire Stichting van België  
en van het Ministerie van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap.*

© 1986 Universitaire Pers Leuven / Leuven University Press / Presses Universitaires de Louvain, Krakenstraat, 3 - B 3000 Leuven/Louvain, Belgium

Niets uit deze uitgave mag worden verveelvoudigd en/of openbaar gemaakt door middel van druk, fotokopie, microfilm of op welke andere wijze ook zonder voorafgaande schriftelijke toestemming van de uitgever.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm or any other means without written permission from the publisher.

ISBN 90-6186-219-1

D/1986/1869/18

## CONSPECTUS RERUM

### 1. Texts and Studies.

Pack CARNES, <i>Heinrich Steinhöwel and the Sixteenth-Century Fable Tradition</i> . . . . .	1
Thomas W. BEST, <i>Is Erasmus' Praise of Folly Flawed?</i> . . .	30
Harry VREDEVELD, <i>Traces of Erasmus' Poetry in the Work of Helius Eobanus Hessus</i> . . . . .	48
John R. C. MARTYN, <i>Joannes Secundus: Orpheus and Eurydice</i>	60
Giuseppe PAPPONETTI, <i>Julii Roscii Hortini Lusus Pastorales</i>	76
Daniele DOMENICHINI, <i>Scienza biblica e curiosità filologiche in una lettera inedita di Benito Arias Montano</i> . . . . .	125
John CARTER - Frances CONDICK, <i>A Study of Patronage from the Surviving Letter-book of Dr. John Bastwick (1596-1654)</i>	137
Karl P. HUBKA, <i>Stylometric Test for Authorship of a Supposed Comenianum, Explicatio Causae Moventis Naturalis</i> . . .	159
Heinz HOFMANN, <i>Cornelius van Arckel und sein neulateinischer Freundeskreis im Holland des ausgehenden 17. und beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts</i> . . . . .	169
Hans VAN DE VENNE, <i>Cornelius Schonaeus 1541-1611. A Bibliography of His Printed Works, IV</i> . . . . .	219

### 2. Instrumentum Criticum:

J. IJSEWIJN, <i>Castigationes Erasmianae V</i> . . . . .	284
--	-----

### 3. Instrumentum bibliographicum:

Jozef IJSEWIJN, Gilbert TOURNOY, Marcus DE SCHEPPER, Dirk SACRÉ, <i>Instrumentum bibliographicum neolatinum 1985-86</i> .	287
---	-----

### 3. Instrumentum lexicographicum . . . . . 318

### 4. Indices

— Index codicum manuscriptorum . . . . .	320
— Index nominum . . . . .	320

### 5. Nuntii . . . . . 286,317

## Pack CARNES

### HEINRICH STEINHÖWEL AND THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FABLE TRADITION

Sometime between 1476 and 1478 there appeared from the press of Johann Zainer in Ulm a bilingual collection of Aesopica that was to prove to be the final statement of a long medieval fable collection tradition as well as the beginnings of modern fable scholarship in Germany. Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Esopus* was to be of great significance for the history of the fable from the last quarter of the fifteenth through the first half of the sixteenth centuries, not only for Germany, but for all of Europe. The *Esopus* was the German Aesop for well over half a century. Internationally, Steinhöwel's edition strongly influenced, even determined, the form and content of fable collections from Spain to Denmark<sup>1</sup>. Through the medium of an important French translation, the Steinhöwel fables form the basis for the famous Caxton Aesop<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Bengt Holbek, *Æsops levned og fabler: Christian Pedersens oversættelse af Steinhöwels Æsop*, 2 vols (Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz, 1962), 2, 9-119, for a comprehensive history of the collection, and Pack Carnes, *Fable Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1985) for other materials on Steinhöwel and the fable in general. This volume is to be supplemented with some 500 additions in a forthcoming article in *Motif*.

<sup>2</sup> The history of the Steinhöwel translation and its travels through the French translation of Julien Macho and Caxton's famous 1484 *Aesop* is best described in Robert T. Lenaghan, *Caxton's Aesop* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967). Emphasis upon Steinhöwel's contribution as a Humanist in this text forms the basis for Lenaghan's subsequent article: "Steinhöwel's 'Esopus' and Early Humanism", *Monatshefte*, 60 (1968), 1-8, which aspect is also discussed and stressed in Barbara Könneker, "Die Rezeption der aesopischen Fabel in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit", *Die Rezeption der Antike*, ed. August Buck (Hamburg: Ernst Hauswedell, 1981), 209-224. Much work needs to be done on the Steinhöwel-Caxton influence in England and Scotland during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Steinhöwel, for example, seems to have influenced Robert Henryson in his *Moral Fables of Aesop*, although the final verdict on the degree of dependence is not yet in. See Denton Fox, "Henryson and Caxton", *Journal of English and German Philology*, 67 (1968), 586-593, as well as his *The Poems of Robert Henryson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981). Fox believes there is no demonstrable borrowing, but presents a very fair case for both sides.

Among the truly distinctive aspects of this remarkable compendium is the first use in German of the Greek prose fable tradition, made possible by Rinuccio d'Arezzo's Latin translation of 100 of these fables. Steinhöwel was one of the earliest to use the Renaissance Italian fable collections<sup>3</sup>. The first instance of the *Vita Aesopi* in German occurs in this compilation and the very integration of this new material with the fabular motifs inherited from the Middle Ages marks a substantial change in attitude toward fable translation and replication: in many ways, the first real instance of a German "fable editor"<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> These are at least eight in number. The early three are Guarino of Verona, Hermolao Barbaro and Lorenzo Valla. These three seem to have worked from the same Greek text which contained only thirty-three fables. (Guarino's surviving text has only twenty-eight.) They were followed by Ognibene da Lonigo, Gregorio Correr, Leonardo Dati of Florence and Rinuccio d'Arezzo. The fables of Leonardo da Vinci can be found scattered throughout his works. Valla's fables were published early on and were enormously popular, with hundreds of reprints. Barbaro's fables had to await modern times for an edition: Joseph Berrigan, *Fabulae Aesopicae Hermolai Barbari et Gregorii Corrarii* (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1977) with text and translations of both Barbaro and Correr. All of the first three fabulists have critical editions in Roberta Galli, "The First Humanistic Translations of Aesop" (diss. University of Illinois at Urbana, Champaign, 1978). On Guarino and Barbaro, see Berrigan, "The Latin Aesop of Ermolao Barbaro", *Manuscripta*, 22 (1978), 141-148, and the literature cited there. On Valla, see especially Thomas Otto Achelis, "Die Aesopübersetzung des Lorenzo Valla", *Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, 2 (1913-1914), 239-278. Ognibene's translation has apparently never been published, but the source has been carefully studied and related to that of Gregorio Correr; see Berrigan's essay on Barbaro and the notes to Chauncey Finch cited there. The last of these translations: Leonardo Dati, Rinuccio and Leonardo da Vinci are apparently unrelated to the earlier ones and to each other. Dati's work dates from the 1420's and 30's; see here Thomas Achelis, "Zu den äsopischen Fabeln des Dati und Corraro", *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 70 (1915), 380-388. Rinuccio's collection was very popular and was printed as early as 1474 by Accursio. This was followed by a number of other incunabula editions, a listing of which can be found in Dean Lockwood, "Rinucio Aretino graecarum litterarum interprete", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 24 (1913), 51-109, especially pp. 61-72. The most convenient listing of the contents of the collection and probable sources is Achelis, "Die Hundert Fabeln des Rinucci da Castiglione", *Philologus*, 83 (1928), 55-88. See also Perry, "The Greek Source of Rinuccio's Aesop", *Classical Philology*, 29 (1934), 53-62. Leonardo da Vinci's entertaining and sometimes disturbing fables have found a number of popular editions, but have not attracted much scholarly notice.

<sup>4</sup> See Lenaghan, "Steinhöwel's 'Esopus'", pp. 1-8. This had been noted in Richard Bauman's study "The Folktale and Oral Tradition in the Fables of Robert Henryson", *Fabula*, 6 (1963), 108-124. Here the literary antecedents and their importance are downplayed, as the title would indicate, but the influence of the Steinhöwel collection as an edited text is clear, even though incorrectly identified here as a "Flemish collection compiled by Steinhöwel" (p. 114). Barbara Könneker, "Die Rezeption der aesopischen Fabel", especially pp. 216-218, suggests that Steinhöwel's humanistic attitudes resulted in stressing the translation aspects of the compilation with a concomitant "secularization" of the morals. To this as well, and for a thoroughgoing study of the processes and purposes of the translation, see Irene Hänsch, *Heinrich Steinhöwels Übersetzungskommentare in "De claris mulieribus" und Äsop* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1981), esp. pp. 170ff.



The Steinhöwel collection, the “Deutscher Aesopus” of Martin Luther was the single most important source of fables for the manifold uses to which fables were put in the sixteenth century. Together with the expanded version compiled and edited by Sebastian Brant in 1501<sup>5</sup>, this collection served as a storehouse of motifs and rhetorical devices not only for a multitude of fabulists, but also for polemicists for (and, rarely, against) the Reformation<sup>6</sup>. Not until the great Burkhard Waldis collection of 1548 was it surpassed as the largest collection in German, and, although a number of Latin collections appeared during the early decades of the sixteenth century<sup>7</sup>, Steinhöwel’s collection was not to be superseded as the prime carrier of the Greek prose fable tradition in Germany until some fifty years after its publication. The Latin fable collections—particularly those of Martin Dorp and Joachim Camerarius—incrementally provided hundreds of “new” fables (i.e., fabular motifs “new” to the Germans), and many of these quickly found their way into the vernacular literature of the day. There is perhaps no better example of how closely the Latin literature of this period is connected to that of the vernacular<sup>8</sup>. The Latin collections produced during this period are fundamental to all the collections produced in German. Steinhöwel’s edition is essentially a collection in Latin with a facing German translation. The expanded 1501 Sebastian Brant version of Steinhöwel’s collection is essentially a Latin collection and the editions of Burkhard Waldis and Erasmus Alberus are ultimately based upon the great Latin collection of Martin Dorp, although the German derivatives were radically different in form<sup>9</sup>. This is probably better said

<sup>5</sup> *Esopi appologi sive mythologi* ... printed by Pfortzheim in Basel and followed by a number of translations into German and other languages. (See below.)

<sup>6</sup> See Pack Carnes, “The Fable in Service to the Reformation”, *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 20 (1984), 176-189.

<sup>7</sup> These have not yet been completely identified and catalogued, but they are legion. An excellent survey is assayed in Paul Thoen, “Les grands recueils ésopiques latins des xv<sup>e</sup> et xvi<sup>e</sup> siècles et leur importance pour les littératures des temps modernes”, *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis: Proceedings of the First International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies*, ed. J. IJsewijn and E. Kessler (Munich: Fink, 1973), 659-679. See also Thoen’s prodigious survey of the Martin Dorp edition in “Aesopus Dorpii: Essai sur l’Ésope latin des temps modernes”, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 19 (1970), 241-316.

<sup>8</sup> See Thoen, “Les grands recueils ésopiques ...”, pp. 659-661 and 664-665; and Wilhelm Braune in his introduction to *Die Fabeln des Erasmus Alberus* (Halle/Salle: Niemeyer, 1892), pp. xxx-xxxvi.

<sup>9</sup> The remarkable collectiop of Erasmus Alberus and its relationship to the religious and political relationships of his day is well described and evaluated in Peter Hasubek, “Grenzfall der Fabel? Fiktion und Wirklichkeit in den Fabeln des Erasmus Alberus”, *Die Fabel: Theorie, Geschichte und Rezeption einer Gattung*, ed. Peter Hasubek (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1982), 43-58.

the other way round : it was in fact the German collections which changed the form and nature of both fable and collection so radically. The Latin fable remained, generally speaking, short and concise : the German fable was often expanded to truly enormous proportions. Burkhard Waldis, to name but a single example, will take a single line epimythium from Dorp's collection and will expand that sentence into a "moral" of over fifty lines, longer in fact than the actual fable to which it is appended.

Heinrich Steinhöwel brought together in his collection 164 fables, tales and *facetiae* carefully translated from various sources. There are 148 Aesopic fables among these 164 items, and ten more fables are found in his version of the *Vita Aesopi*<sup>10</sup>. Two of the Vita fables are doublets of fables in the collection proper, for a grand total of 156 fables in the "deutscher Esopus". Forty or so of these, a significant percentage, appear here in their first known German versions.

The first (and only bilingual) edition of the Steinhöwel collection was printed by Johannes Zainer of Ulm. The year is unknown, but the most likely date seems to be 1476 or 1477<sup>11</sup>. The volume contains 288 folio leaves, is illustrated with 205 woodcuts and printed together with Nikolaus von Wyle's translation of *De Guiscardo et Sigismunde*<sup>12</sup>. It is known to survive in ten copies, some of which are defective<sup>13</sup>. The work is divided into sections, corresponding to the source from

<sup>10</sup> "Aesopic" is used somewhat loosely here. I follow Ben Edwin Perry in his monumental *Aesopica : A Series of Texts Relating to Aesop or Ascribed to him or Closely Connected with the Literary Tradition that Bears his Name* (Urbana : The University of Chicago Press, 1952). The sub-title adequately covers what is meant by "Aesopic" here. The other materials, *Schwänke* and other *einfache Formen*, are less of a kind, but all appear in collections of the day and most can be found in the standard *facetiae* collections.

<sup>11</sup> George Keidel, *A Manual of Aesopic Literature* (Baltimore : Friedenwalt, 1896), no. 2 of *Romances and Other Studies*, places it "about 1474" (p. 11). Bengt Holbek, *Æsops levned og fabler*, 2, 103 says : "Antagelig udkom Æsopi 1476/77,.. It is not likely to be earlier than the first edition of Rinuccio's fable collection (Milan, 1474), although Steinhöwel studied in Italy and might of course have had access to any of a number of manuscripts of the translation. It can not be later than the first reliably dated edition, a reprint of the Latin text by Leeu in 1484.

<sup>12</sup> The Aretinus text "De Guiscardo et Sigismunde" does not travel with Steinhöwel very long. See Christian Ludwig Küster, "Illustrierte Aesop-Ausgaben des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts" (diss. Hamburg, 1970), Teil I, pp. 28-47, especially p. 46.

<sup>13</sup> This edition has been edited by Hermann Oesterley as no. 117 in the *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* (Tübingen, 1873). All quotations from Steinhöwel are from this edition. Other editions are found in Holbek, *Æsops levned og fabler*, 2, 115-116. A facsimile of the German was published by E. Voulliéme as no. 2 in the series *Die Incunabel in ihren Hauptwerken* (Potsdam, 1922).

which each was derived. Each Latin selection is followed by Steinhöwel's translation into German, although the fables in the first three books are followed by medieval metrical versions in Latin, the so-called *Aesopus moralisatus*, for which translations are not attempted. The dedication is in Latin and is followed by an introduction given only in German. The *Vita Aesopi*, taken from the version with the collection of Rinuccio d'Arezzo, and its German translation follow. The end of each section is generally marked by a "tag" in Latin that is not translated, and there are a number of other occasional Latin phrases found at either the beginning or the end of each of the fable sections, including such macaronic tags as the "finis des leben Esopi" at the end of the German translation of the *Vita*. The final section of the work is entitled "Die gemainen punkten der materi dis büchclins", and is given only in German, closing with "Geendet säliglich von Johanne Zeiner zuo Ulm".

The Latin and the German versions of the collection travel separately after the first edition. There are at least thirty-five editions of the German text, that is, editions of the German translation alone. The first of these is by Gunther Zainer (Augsburg, 1477/1478?)<sup>14</sup> which will go through at least twelve incunabula editions<sup>15</sup>. After 1501 the Steinhöwel collection travelled both with Sebastian Brant's additions in Latin as well as independently as before. The Steinhöwel-Brant collection, amplified to 300 items, was translated into German as early as 1508<sup>16</sup>.

The popularity of the collection throughout Europe is demonstrated by the numerous translations and very numerous editions of those translations, beginning with a French version dating from 1480. This was printed by Philippi and Reinhard in Lyon (*Gesamtkatalog*, no. 368), and was followed by at least fourteen later editions<sup>17</sup>. The famous Caxton English version (Westminster, 1484) was translated by Caxton

<sup>14</sup> See the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, no. 352 and subsequent entries.

<sup>15</sup> A listing of these has to be pieced together and even with that the want of adequate bibliographical tools is evident. Keidel, *Manual*, and Holbek, *Aesops levned og fabler* together make a fairly complete listing, but much more work needs to be done here.

<sup>16</sup> A translation into German of this combined edition is recorded by Goedeke in his *Grundriss* for the year 1508. I can find no other record of this translation, but the 1535 translation by Graff in Freiburg in Breisgau is well known, and is discussed below.

<sup>17</sup> See *Gesamtkatalog*, nos. 368-373 and Hermann Knust, "Steinhöwels Aesop", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 19 (1887), 187-218 for an outline of the popularity of this and other editions.

himself from this French edition. The Caxton Aesop, having gone through two translations and two editorial processes, is still clearly and obviously Steinhöwel's version, and his ordering of the fables will remain the standard for decades in England as well as in the rest of Europe, as Caxton is followed by at least seven other editors in English<sup>18</sup>. Steinhöwel's text was translated into Low German early on, with a Magdeburg edition by Brandis appearing in 1492 (*Gesamtkatalog*, no. 365), and yet another by Koch most likely in the same year (*Gesamtkatalog*, no. 366). A Bohemian edition appeared a year or two before or after 1488<sup>19</sup>, and Gerardus Leeu's Latin edition of 1486 was almost certainly preceded by a Dutch translation<sup>20</sup>.

Steinhöwel's *Esopus* is divided into nine sections, starting with an introduction, in which he describes the criteria used in the selection of the fables, and the use to which he feels the work ought to be put. He maintains that his purpose is to be found in the moral teaching of the fables, not the narrative:

Also wer das büchlin lesen wil, der sol die farb der pluomen, das ist die märlun oder fabeln, nit gross achten, sunder die guoten lere, dar inn begriffen, zuo guoten sitten und tugend ze lernen ... (p. 4)<sup>21</sup>.

Those who read the stories for the sake of the story line and not for the teachings they illustrate receive nothing more from them than "der han von dem edeln gestain, der liber ain gersten körnlin funden hat ...", a reference to the first fable in the collection<sup>22</sup>. The medieval

<sup>18</sup> See both works by Lenaghan cited above and Holbek, *Æsops levned og fabler*, 2, 117.

<sup>19</sup> See Knust, "Steinhöwels Aesop", for a listing of the Bohemian editions and the introduction to A. Truhlář, *Jana Albina Ezopovy Fabule a Brantovy rozprávky* (Prague, 1901).

<sup>20</sup> See *Gesamtkatalog*, no. 374. Other translations include Christian Pedersen's Danish version of 1556 of which volume 1 of Holbek's *Æsops levned og fabler* is an excellent edition; a Catalan edition published in Barcelona in 1550 (?) and another in Icelandic in 1743. Some of these and various other editions and reprintings are to be found in Knust, "Steinhöwels Aesop", *passim*. Two of the most interesting translations of Aesopica during the sixteenth century, neither exclusively Steinhöwel, but likely to have been influenced by that collection, are the Jesuit translation into Japanese of 1593, and the pre-1590 translation in Nahautl, the language of the Aztec empire. See Gorden Brotherson, "How Aesop fared in Nahautl", *Arcadia*, 7 (1973), 37-43.

<sup>21</sup> Oesterley, p. 5. The introduction to Steinhöwel's edition is now conveniently reprinted in Edwin Leibfried and Josef Wehrle, *Texte zur Theorie der Fabel* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1978), pp. 3-4.

<sup>22</sup> Perry, *Aesopica*, no. 503 (= P503. "P" + no. is used to identify fables below by indicating the classical text as listed in Perry's *Aesopica*. This fable is commonly used to introduce fable collections in the Middle Ages and into the modern era: in Latin all



tradition of having this particular fable begin “Aesop” seems to have begun with the Romulus collection, and gave *Der Edelstein* of Boner its modern name. Steinhöwel describes his translation as a prose translation, “nit wie sy vor in tütschen rymen gesecket sint ...”, a probable reference to Boner’s *Edelstein* of which he was undoubtedly aware, but which he did not use to any noticeable extent.

There is direct evidence that Steinhöwel was serious in his insistence upon the primacy of the moral aspect of the fables. The final section of the collection is an index of sorts entitled “Die gemainen punkten der materi dis büchclins”, in which Steinhöwel arranges the fables according to certain subtitles such as “Armuot”, “Aigensinning”, and so on through a wide-ranging list of subjects. In this index-section the fable promythia are summarized by what amounts to a proverb or proverbial phrase and a reference is given to the corresponding fables.

The moral might well have been the most important single element of the fables as he presented them, but it is clear that this cannot be taken as his single purpose. The enormous popularity of the fable motifs in any number of forms during his time speaks against their having been considered for the morals alone, as does the use to which Steinhöwel’s and all other fables were put during the period. The fable was used more often as a rhetorical device than as a moral dictum and there is strong evidence that the fables were read and enjoyed for precisely the reason that Steinhöwel outwardly condemns, that is, reading them for the sake of the narrative alone<sup>23</sup>. In the final analysis, Steinhöwel himself suggests this, as the non-fabular tales from Petrus Alphonsus and Poggio are clearly included for their entertainment value rather than any sort of moral edification<sup>24</sup>. It is significant that

through the so-called Romulus prose paraphrases of Phaedrus; in German from Gerhard von Minden’s collection through Waldis and Alberus and beyond.

<sup>23</sup> If evidence of this were needed, then the extreme popularity of the Schwank collections of the period would suffice. These were clearly read for the enjoyment found in the narrative. Barbara Köneker properly stresses Steinhöwel’s Humanist intentions in dealing with the work as essentially *translation* (“Die Rezeption der aesopischen Fabel”, p. 216). Köneker is clearly correct in noting Steinhöwel’s prime concern and in stressing this aspect over any formulaic overtures about the primacy of the morals. Köneker further sees the epimythia and the *Register* as added evidence for Steinhöwel’s attitude toward his material, although it is somewhat difficult to place as *much* emphasis upon that as, e.g., “Somit haben wir es bei ihm [i.e., Steinhöwel] erstmals mit einer Rezeption der aesopischen Fabel zu tun, die nichts sein wollte als nur dies ...” (p. 216).

<sup>24</sup> See Wolfgang Brückner, *Volkserzählung und Reformation: Ein Handbuch zur Tradierung und Funktion von Erzählstoffen und Erzählliteratur im Protestantismus* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1974), for a massive account of the popularity of these forms. Most fable

Steinhöwel felt he had to add his "Entschuldigung schrybens lychfertiger schimpfred", to excuse his incorporation of Poggio's "De iuvenula impotentiam mariti accusante"<sup>25</sup>.

Steinhöwel does seem concerned about the nature of the fable. Fables are, he says, following Isidore :

... nit geschechene ding, sonder allain mit worten erdichte ding, und sint darumb erdacht worden, daz man durch erdichte wort der unvernünftigen tier under in selber ain ynbildung des wesens und sitten der menschlichen würde erkennet (p. 5).

He thus recognizes at once both the fictitious and the symbolic nature of the fable. The Aesopic fables are those in which

die unvernünftigen tier, die nit reden kundent, mit ain ander redent, oder andere ding, die nit empfindende sel hant, als baum, berg, stain, wasser, stet, dörfer und desglichen (p. 5).

This type is to be distinguished from the "Libistice", in which men speak with animals. Although Steinhöwel mentions this distinction, he does not classify the fables in his collection according to this scheme. He continues that the poeten also wrote fables, because "... sie lustig syent zu hören" (compare his initial dismissal of this function), in addition to their being descriptive of the manners and nature of mankind (p. 5).

A fairly clear picture of the fable can be derived from the above. Steinhöwel believed the fable to have been written by a number of people<sup>26</sup>, though a special place is to be given to the "Esophice" (i.e., "Aesopic") type which is distinguished from other types by the exclusive use of animals and plants and other things without a soul.

collections of the sixteenth century and earlier contain these Schwänke, just as standard Schwank collections (Pauli, Wickram, Kirchhof and the like) all contained fables. The genre lines for these and other *einfache Formen* were rarely considered much of a barrier to "mixed" collections. See also the chapter on "Fabel und Schwank" in Erich Straßner, *Schwank* (Stuttgart : Metzler, 1968).

<sup>25</sup> Martin Luther's extremely negative reaction to the Steinhöwel edition, in strong contrast to his equally strong support for the fable as a form and as a weapon clearly lies here. See Herbert Wolf, *Martin Luther* (Stuttgart : Metzler, 1980), pp. 145-147; but compare Barbara Könneker, "Die Rezeption der aesopischen Fabel", p. 217, who suggests that Luther is reacting to the secularization of the morals undertaken by Steinhöwel. See Pack Carnes, "The Fable in Service to the Reformation", for a review of the literature on Luther and his fable activity.

<sup>26</sup> An interesting extension of this is Steinhöwel's naming of Rinuccio d'Arezzo fables "other Aesopic fables" (Oesterley, p. 243).

The fable has two primary functions : it is read because it is pleasurable to read, and because it aids mankind in bettering itself through its description of the customs and nature of man (Steinhöwel would have reversed the order of these two functions, at least "for the record"). The fable is fiction and consists of a specialized type of anthropomorphism of man's environment.

Steinhöwel ends his definition of the fable with a sharpening of genre lines :

So merck den underschaid under fabel, histori und argument. Historie synt ware beschechene ding. Argumenta synt die, ob sie nit beschechen sind, so ist doch möglich, daz sie beschechen, als die comedi Terentii und etlich Plauti und der selben glych. Fabel sint die, die nicht beschechen synt noch möglich sind ze beschechen, wann sy synt wider die natur (p. 6).

This last is taken from Isidore, *Etymologiae*, I, 40. How important Isidore's arguments were to Steinhöwel, he does not tell us. There is little of relevance in this tripartite definition to the collection proper, as all the forms mentioned can be found there. But there is a significant attempt to come to terms with a popular, if not all too well-established, area here<sup>27</sup>. Fables were and are easily recognized, but not so easily defined. Steinhöwel's attempt will not find much in the way of a response until the fable theorists of the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, as Lessing will later decry, the fable itself will change during the sixteenth century to go far beyond the limits of Steinhöwel's make-shift genre pattern.

The second part of Steinhöwel's *Esopus* is his text of the *Vita Aesopi*. The *Vita* is introduced by : "nun komen wir an das leben Esopi in Latin" (Oesterley, p. 6), which is followed by the Latin text of Rinuccio's translation from the Greek—most likely the Greek text prepared by Maximus Planudes, the thirteenth-century Byzantine monk with whom the work has been associated (see Perry, *Aesopica*, pp. 1-5). All modern versions seem to descend from a group of recensions which had experienced incremental growth throughout their long and complex textual history<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Barbara Könnker, "Die Rezeption der aesopischen Fabel", finds indeed enough in this to suggest the fable is here *sui generis* established. For another view, see Klaus Grubmüller, "Elemente einer literarischen Gebrauchssituation : Zur Rezeption des aesopischen Fabel im 15. Jahrhundert", *Würzburger Prosastudien II*, ed. Peter Kestig (Munich : Fink, 1975), pp. 139-159.

<sup>28</sup> There is an extensive literature. The best introduction remains Ben Edwin Perry, *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop* (Lancaster, Pa. : Lancaster Press, 1936), especially for textual problems. Perry's *Aesopica* contains a critical edition

The units of incrementation are easily seen. The text consists of a number of anecdotes about Aesop the slave, often with fables embedded within the short external narratives. The *Vita* takes us through portions of the adult life of Aesop from the time of his becoming a slave of the philosopher Xanthus to his freedom and finally his death at the hands of the Delphians. Steinhöwel translates the Latin fairly literally and thereby adds this collection of anecdotes and fables to the immense store of short prose narratives already current and growing in popularity in Germany<sup>29</sup>.

Many of the pieces in the *Vita* will not find fertile soil, but a few will thrive. Two of the ten fables found in the *Vita* also appear among the fables in the collection proper, although in somewhat different form. The fable of the Wolf, Sheep and Dogs (P153: the wolves offer a truce to the sheep if they give over to them their protectors, the dogs who were, they say, the cause of the trouble in the first place) is found in the medieval Romulus collection and is no. 53 in the collection (Oesterley, p. 159) as well as in the *Vita* (Oesterley, p. 65). The fable was quite popular in Europe during the Middle Ages and is found later in the Burkhard Waldis collection (I, 38, from the same source) and throughout the sixteenth century. This popularity, however, is due to its appearance in the Romulus collection and can not be attributed to the version in the *Vita*. The same is certainly the case with the other doublet: "Mouse and Frog" (P384 and see the *Vita Aesopi* in Perry's *Aesopica*, chap. 133). This fable is found as the third in Steinhöwel's collection (pp. 73-74 and p. 83, again from the Romulus versions), but is a shorter version than that found in the *Vita*. Steinhöwel adds the editorial note: "dise fabel findst ouch völliger in

of the oldest text. See also Paul Zeitz, *Die Fragmente des Asopromans in Papyrushandschriften* (diss. Gießen, 1935) and his "Der Aesoproman und seine Geschichte", *Aegyptus*, 16 (1936), 225-256; and now Francisco Rodriguez Adrados, "The Life of Aesop and the Origin of the Novel in Antiquity", *Quaderni Urbinati di cultura classica*, 30 (1979), 93-112. A complete listing of the other works on the *Vita Aesopi* is found in Carnes, *Fable Scholarship*, and the supplement (see note 1).

<sup>29</sup> There are at least ten true fables and an equal number of non-fabular anecdotes. Among the fables, only four have animals as actors; in the others, human actors, often Aesop himself, appear and function in such a manner as to integrate the narrative into that of the *Vita* proper. This might help to explain why these fables rarely became "detached" and were only rarely included into the fable collections. That the motifs in the *Vita* were so well known that they were expected to be recognized is clearly demonstrated by Wolf and others: see Wolf's citation of the anecdote of "The Tongues", for example, in "Erzähltradition in homiletischen Quellen", p. 718 from Mathesius' "Sirachpostille" of 1585.



dem leben Esopi by dem end" (p. 83). Allomorphs of this motif are abundant throughout the history of the fable in Germany. Luther places it third in his collection which was based squarely upon the Steinhöwel version and for which the Steinhöwel collection was the fundamental impetus. Erasmus Alberus includes this fable as the second in his forty-three fable collection (again clearly but indirectly from Romulus tradition), and it is found in Waldis' *Esopus* (I, 3) and is represented in the massive *Wendunmuth* of Kirchhof (7, 31 and 7, 71). Hans Sachs used the fable twice and it has been common down to our day<sup>30</sup>.

Most of the other material in the *Vita* however, does not survive outside of the context of the *Vita* itself. The Romance was never as strong and as socially preconditioned toward survival as the collection of fables to which it was occasionally attached<sup>31</sup>. There are very few exceptions and the single important one is Hans Sachs. Sachs uses a number of the anecdotes from the *Vita* for his works and some elements from pp. 41-53 are dramatised in his "Esopus, der Fabeldichter: Ein Comedi mit acht personen", dating from 1560, his last *Fastnachtspiel*<sup>32</sup>. The anecdote "The Tongues" (Oesterley, pp. 53-54) is found twice among Sachs' works<sup>33</sup> and a number of anecdotes are found here and there in Sachs, but none of the fables. This is somewhat curious, when compared to the tremendous attraction the fables in the collection proper seemed to have had to Sachs; he will use scores of fables from the collection throughout his literary career. In fact, the

<sup>30</sup> The first of these is almost certainly Sachs' first reworking of a fable and was published separately. Sachs used the Romulus fable here, not the form in the *Vita*. See the works of Sachs, without the *Meisterlieder*, in Adelbert von Keller and Edmund Goetze, eds., *Hans Sachs*, 26 vols, Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart (Tübingen, 1870-1908, now reprinted). The collected fables and *Schwänke*, including the *Meisterlieder* wherever possible, are edited by Edmund Goetze and Carl Drescher, in six volumes in the Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des xvi. und xvii. Jahrhunderts series (Halle/Salle: Niemeyer, 1893-1913, volume one now reprinted); the two versions mentioned here are found in Goetze-Drescher I, no. 3 "Fabel mit dem Frosch und der Mauß", and 4, no. 329 "Der untrew Frosch".

<sup>31</sup> The fanciful "lives" of Aesop that appeared in Europe and especially in England in the last decade of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth century were perhaps triggered by this romance, but can hardly be considered dependent upon it. See Thomas Noel, *Theories of the Fable in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), especially, pp. 30-34.

<sup>32</sup> Keller-Goetze, no. 5429, *Fastnachtspiel*, no. 85.

<sup>33</sup> Keller-Goetze, no. 585 "Die Zungen", from 1532 and again in the 1562 *Schwank* "Die guten und bösen zungen" (Keller-Goetze, no. 5518).

fables seem to have been second only to biblical materials in appeal to Sachs as sources<sup>34</sup>.

Virtually every edition of Steinhöwel's text will reprint the *Vita*. It is also found in many, though not all, of the translations made from these German and/or Latin versions. Even though the Life of Aesop becomes a somewhat common fixture of the German fable tradition, it is almost never found alone during the sixteenth century. The German versions of the *Vita* all derive from the Rinuccio text, and the medium of transfer for most of the material extracted from the Life and found in other works is Steinhöwel. The versions of the *Vita Aesopi* given in Waldis and Alberus come from the much shortened Latin text of Martin Dorp, the most likely source for which is once again the Rinuccio translation from the Greek. The last of this tradition is to be found in J. N. Nevelet's *Mythologia Aesopi* printed in Frankfurt in 1610. There the *Vita* occupies pages 4-82.

The *Vita Aesopi* and its German translation is the last of the introductory material in the *Esopus*. The collection of fables proper begins in the next section and continues through the four "books" of the Romulus collection, the seventeen "Extravagantes", the Steinhöwel redaction of the Rinuccio d'Arezzo collection, the reduced Avianus collection and the miscellaneous fables in his final "book": the collection of *facetiae* from Petrus Alphonsus and Poggio. This material begins with the Steinhöwel Romulus text which here consists of two medieval traditions of fabular materials printed together. These two are the four books of the so-called Romulus fables and the *Aesopus moralisatus*. The latter metrical version (with an added set of morals from the thirteenth century)

<sup>34</sup> In a sense, these are much the same thing. Schirokeauer, speaking of Luther's fragmentary reworking of Steinhöwel's collection, calls the fables a sort of *Biblia pauperum*, although mistaking Luther's purpose. On the equivalence of scriptural and Aesopic moral stances, see Klaus Grubmüller, *Meister Esopus: Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Funktion der Fabel im Mittelalter* (Munich: Artemis, 1977) for the Middle Ages, and Denton Fox, *The Poems of Robert Henryson*, especially pp. xli-xliii for the fifteenth century. A review of the literature on the subject is also found in Pack Carnes, "The Fable in Service to the reformation", cited above. The case for the fables is often, and usually convincingly, made by pointing out that the scriptures contain a number of fables, all in the Old Testament. The important distinction between the fable and the parable was often lost as well, and the New Testament parables were also used as evidence for the worthwhile aspects of the fable. On the history and relationship of the forms with copious examples, see Reinhard Dithmar, *Fabeln, Parabeln und Gleichnisse* (Munich: DTV, 1978). An excellent synthesis of these ideas and much else is presented in H. J. Blackham, *The Fable as Literature* (London: Athlone, 1985), esp. pp. xiii-xvi.

and the Romulus versions had remained more or less separate until Steinhöwel's first edition of 1476/1477<sup>35</sup>.

It is clear that Steinhöwel used at least one of the many manuscripts of the Romulus collection known throughout the Middle Ages. All of the fables save perhaps one, are known in Latin prose from at least the middle of the eleventh century<sup>36</sup>, and all eighty fables are known in German versions before Steinhöwel's edition<sup>37</sup>.

Each of the four books of the Romulus fables is introduced by a "Registrum fabularum". The first book has a preface which tradition ascribes to the otherwise unknown eponymic Romulus. Steinhöwel introduces the prologue with "Die vorred romuli philosophi in das buch Esopi", implying something at least approaching belief in the preface, which had traveled with the Romulus books throughout the Middle Ages. Steinhöwel is in keeping with the tradition by reproducing and translating it here<sup>38</sup>, although he will be among the last to use it. Later fabulists, for whom the concept of the Romulus collection as a single unit is no longer an important issue, will dispense with the prologue. No identification of the Romulus mentioned, nor of his son Tyberinus, has hitherto been successful, but there is little reason to assume with Perry (*Babrius and Phaedrus*, p. XCIX), that there could not have been such a person. There is more of a problem with his prologue. Our "Romulus" states that he had translated his fables from Greek into

<sup>35</sup> On the *Aesopus moralisatus*, see Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3, 771-773. Editions and textual traditions are found in Léopold Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge*, 5 vols (Paris: Didot, 1893-1899), supplemented by Gaston Paris "Les fabulistes latins", *Journal des Savants* (1885), 37-51, also published separately. See Denton Fox, *The Poems of Robert Henryson*, especially, pp. xlv-xlvii.

<sup>36</sup> See Hermann Oesterley, *Romulus: Die Paraphrasen des Phaedrus und die aesopische Fabel im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Weidemann, 1870) and Georg Thiele, *Der lateinische Äsop des Romulus und die Prosa-Fassungen des Phaedrus* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1910) for the wideranging discussions on the ultimate sources and modes of transmission of these fables. The best and most up-to-date review of Romulus and the Romulus collections in the Middle Ages is to be found in Grubmüller, *Meister Esopus*, pp. 61-85 and *passim*. See also Morten Nøjgaard, *La fable antique*, vol 2 (Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, 1967).

<sup>37</sup> No. 80 "Von der tannen und dem ror", is not from the Romulus tradition and is discussed below; no. 76 "Von der floch und dem camel tier" (P137 "Gnat and Bull", compare Babrius 84) is in the Romulus collection, but is not represented in the hundred fables and *Schwänke* found in Boner's *Edelstein*, nor in the "Leipziger Äsop", nor in the Low German fable collections.

<sup>38</sup> See Thomas Otto Achelis, "Die Adresse der Epistoli Aesopi", *Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, 4 (1924), 119-122; and Thiele, *Romulus*, pp. x-xviii.

Latin ("Ego Romulus transtuli de greco sermone in Latinum"), which could not be true if the fables are actually prose reworkings of Phaedrus' collection which was, of course, written in Latin. If, however, the Romulus collection is a prose translation of the source from which Phaedrus worked as well, then Romulus' statement could in fact be true. Generally the Romulus fables are far enough away from the metrical versions of Phaedrus to allow this possibility, but there are instances of virtually identical word order that would be very difficult to explain away and thus prose restatements of the Latin seems clearly indicated<sup>39</sup>.

The Romulus "Prefatio" is followed by a fairly literal translation into German. This is followed by the "prologus metricus in Esopum", the prologue to the *Aesopus moralisatus*, not translated by Steinhöwel, which establishes the pattern for translations within the body of the collection as well. Steinhöwel gives translations for the prose (i.e., the Romulus) fables, but does not translate the metrical versions from the *Aesopus moralisatus*. Steinhöwel stayed away from attempting poetry in general, and he does not generally add elements to those fables he presents in verse, although he does occasionally add verse forms to those fables he originally presents in prose.

It is clear that Steinhöwel followed medieval tradition in assuming that the Romulus fables were somewhat more "Aesopic" than the others in his collection. First of all, the first four books of Romulus fables from the largest single unit in the *Esopus* and secondly Steinhöwel presents these fables as the authentic fables of Aesop and indicates that these alone deserved to be called *fabulae Esopi*. Most other collections are, for a time at least, marked with "new" or some similar label during the sixteenth century. The Romulus fables take first place in Dorp's great Latin collection and are thus passed on to Alberus and Waldis.

The Romulus collection was a variable thing throughout its history and all of the eighty fables found in Steinhöwel's version of the Romulus collection are well known much in the same shape in any of dozens of "Romulus" texts. But there is no one source known for the collection exactly as found in Steinhöwel's version. Either he worked from

<sup>39</sup> Thiele, *Romulus*, p. xi, asserts that some parts of the Romulus tradition antedate the Phaedrine fables. He postulates an "Aesopus latinus", independent of Phaedrus. Hausrath accepted the idea and defended it. In our day, Nøjgaard in the second volume of his *La fable antique* disputes the integrity of such a putative collection and attempts a reconstruction of a possible further source of Romulus.



a previously edited compilation now lost, or he used more than one manuscript for his edition and edited to suit his particular needs. This editing and his particular choices were of paramount importance for the future of this collection since virtually every edition of Romulus fables after Steinhöwel was founded firmly upon his collection, and to a very real extent, for as long as the Romulus collection had any meaning as an entity, it is as part of the Steinhöwel collection. Not much can be made of this, however, as the collection tends to lose its integrity (as is the case with the Rinuccio and other collections) during the latter sixteenth century.

The four books basically conform to the version given in the "recensio Gallicana" of Romulus<sup>40</sup>, but with a few important changes. No known manuscript matches Steinhöwel's choices exactly, as he has left out two fables from his fourth book: P390 "Crow and Pitcher" (no title in Oesterley; Avianus 27; *Romulus*, 4: 11; Thiele, no. 87), and P199 "Boy and Scorpion" (Oesterley, *Romulus*, 4: 14; Thiele, no. 88). Steinhöwel has the "Crow and Pitcher" fable later in the collection as his no. 134 among the Avianus fables. Whether he intended to include the second of these and later left it out, or simply miscopied the *registrum* from his source, is unknown, but the "Boy and Scorpion" fable is listed in the *registrum* preceding book four. There it is entered as Fabula XIII, "De puero et scorpione", and in the same order as in the Romulus manuscripts.

Steinhöwel has inserted another fable: "De abiete et harundine", as the last fable in the fourth book. His source for this fable is unknown; it is not found in any known Romulus collection<sup>41</sup>. Although the basic motif of the fable is well known (P70, Halm 179, Babrius 36), and occurs in both of Steinhöwel's other main sources, it is otherwise unattested in the form found here. Avianus has a similar fable in no. 16 "De quercu et harundine". If Avianus is indeed the source for the change from an oak to a pine, it is still not the most important change. In the Avianus narrative, the oak has already been uprooted and only later meets the reed, following Babrius. Another Avianus

<sup>40</sup> Thiele, *Romulus*, pp. vi-xxv, especially xviii-xix. The term is Thiele's invention and is used in contrast to the other (apparent) line of recension, the "recensio vetus" in his terminology.

<sup>41</sup> Thiele points out that the transitional phrase in this fable between the promythium and the narrative ("solet eis evenire sicut arbori...") is found nowhere else in the collection (*Romulus*, pp. cxci-cxcii).

fable, no. 19 “De abiete ac dumis”, is similar only in the epimythium. Rinuccio no. 37 is very similar in motif, but the title and the principal actors are quite different: “De calamo et oliva”. The fable in this form is likely to be a medieval hybrid, a not uncommon phenomenon, and Steinhöwel might have taken it from the source for his next section, the *Extravagantes*, to fill out the Romulus books into twenty each<sup>42</sup>. The motif commonly used in the sixteenth century is the Avianus fable, not the Steinhöwel hybrid.

Of the 81 fables in the *recensio Gallicana*, Steinhöwel leaves out two and adds the no. 80 just discussed. One of the the fables he omits is found in the Avianus collection as no. 27 and is Steinhöwel no. 134 (P390 “Crow and Pitcher”; see above). It seems clear that the fable was omitted from the Romulus section as it was to be included in the Avianus group and that implies that Steinhöwel carefully edited his materials all through the process. The four books of Romulus in the *recensio Gallicana* contain 19, 21, 20, and 21 fables respectively. Steinhöwel has taken one from the second book (no. 8) and has inserted it into the first book<sup>43</sup>. Steinhöwel’s careful editing shows up in the symmetry which results from his four books of twenty fables each.

Without the original manuscript from which Steinhöwel worked, it is naturally impossible to be certain, but on the basis of the received texts, Steinhöwel’s treatment of the fables seems to be remarkably faithful. He does expand the text occasionally to facilitate the reading. The first fable gives us an example. The Romulus epimythium reads: “... hec illis Aesopus narrat, qui non intelligunt” (Oesterley, *Romulus*, p. 39). Steinhöwel has “... hec Aesopus illis narrat, qui ipsum legunt et non intelligunt” (Oesterley, *Esopus*, p. 80). The Steinhöwel text is somewhat more to the point. There are a number of other changes; most are trivial and are listed in Thiele’s *Romulus*.

The fables in Steinhöwel’s Romulus section nearly always have promythia whether or not they had such in the original (again, assuming that the texts that survive represent Steinhöwel’s original). He had maintained in his introduction that the moral was the most important

<sup>42</sup> Erna Grawi has made an exhaustive study of this fable in her dissertation, *Die Fabel vom Baum und dem Schilfrohr in der Weltliteratur* (Rostock, 1911). She assumes that Steinhöwel took this fable from another collection but does not identify the source. See also Achelis, “Die Fabeln Avians in Steinhöwels Aesop”, *Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, 4 (1924), 194-221, here pp. 211-214.

<sup>43</sup> There seems to be medieval precedence for this. Some of the manuscripts appear to have had this arrangement. See Achelis, “Die Fabeln Avians”, pp. 206 and 213-214.

single feature of the fable, and promythia tend to emphasize the moral. Epimythia usually restate the moral, and the conclusion is that the complete fable ought to have both.

Steinhöwel did not rely upon his manuscript source or sources entirely for his text: no. 80 as we have seen is a non-Romulus fable, and three others have interpolations from the Rinuccio translation of 1448. No. 3 "Von der mus, frosch und wyen" (P384 "Mouse and Frog"), shows influence of Rinuccio no. 65. In no. 6 "Von dem löwen, rind, gaiss und schauf" (P339 "Lion and Wild Ass, Partners in the Hunt"; see also P149), Steinhöwel first translates the Romulus version and then adds the Rinuccio version (P149) with the introductory line: "Die selben fabel seczet Crimicius [*read*: Rimicius, i.e., Rinuccio] in der nuwen translation uss kriechisch in latin von dem löwen, aim esel und aim fuchs" (Oesterley, p. 86). Both Luther and Nathan Chyträus (in his *Hundert Fabeln aus Esopo*, Rostock, 1571) will retain this Romulus/Rinuccio distinction derived from Steinhöwel. Steinhöwel no. 61 "Von dem fuchs und dem truben" (P15 "Fox and Grapes") is not from Romulus IV, 1, but is taken over entirely from Rinuccio no. 85, which has the same motif, but slightly different details<sup>44</sup>.

Altogether then, Steinhöwel uses seventy-six fables directly from his source, some unidentified manuscript of the *recensio Gallicana* of the Romulus tradition; a few details from a similar fable are added on to a Romulus fable; another fable from the Rinuccio collection is used as "add-on" to the corresponding Romulus fable; yet another fable from the same collection is used to replace the version in the Romulus text; and a final fable, the last in the book, is added from an unknown source<sup>45</sup>. None of these changes affects the complexion of the Romulus collection.

<sup>44</sup> There may be a transfer of ideas in Steinhöwel no. 77 "Von der amais und dem grillen" (P373 and Rinuccio no. 85) in the German translation. The German text fits the Rinuccio text as well (or in a line or two perhaps even better) than it does the Romulus text. Steinhöwel's translation may have been influenced by a reading of Rinuccio here.

<sup>45</sup> Perhaps the same source for the next section in his collection, the *Extravagantes*. See Knust, "Steinhöwels Äsop", cited above, here p. 198. Note also that Steinhöwel adds to the Latin title of his no. 164 "De vulpe et gallo et canibus" the phrase: "pertinet ad finem quarti libri Esopi" (Oesterley, p. 350). This is the same motif as P671 "Fox and Dove", with the substitution of a hanen (misprinted *samen* in Oesterley, p. 351) for the dove. The fable comes from Poggio and is of comparatively late origin, although it was included in the Renart cycle and enters popular literature from that source. Only Luther and Sachs appear to have used Steinhöwel's version.

The first three books of the Romulus are accompanied by Latin verse forms placed after the German translations. These re-casted fables are from the *Aesopus moralisatus* ultimately derived from the basic Romulus collection. These metrical versions are attributed to Walter of England ("Gualtherus Anglicus") of the late twelfth century and travelled independent of the prose tradition. The form found here, with an expanded set of morals, is somewhat later and became extremely popular. With the integration of these materials here, Steinhöwel combines the most popular versions of the fables, effectively capping the fable tradition of the Middle Ages.

At the end of the four books of Romulus fables, Steinhöwel adds: "Finis quarti libri Esopi viri ingeniosi nec plures eius libri inveniuntur. Multe tamen eius fabule reperte sunt, quarum plurime sequuntur, ut in processu videbitur" (Oesterley, p. 191). This introduces the third section of the *Esopus*: seventeen fables entitled "Extravagantes Esopi antique". These fables, although considered Aesopic, were not fixed in the medieval canon. Some of them appear to have a few later additions (for example, the baptizing of pigs in Steinhöwel no. 10), but the ascription of these fables to antiquity by Steinhöwel may in fact be well founded. The source from which Steinhöwel took these seventeen fables is unknown; Perry lists Steinhöwel as the earliest known versions for at least ten of these. This "ten" is misleading as these fables are not the simple, monoepisodic fables common to the Aesopic canon, but are often somewhat complex structures often with a number of episodes and are only very loosely tied together by a central character. There is certain to be an admixture of materials from the animal epic here<sup>46</sup>. The collection appears to have been at least partly based upon the fifteenth-century Romulus monacensis, found in the Breslau manuscript of Petrus Alphonsus from which Steinhöwel apparently took his materials in the section entitled "Ex Adelfonso" (Oesterley, pp. 318-351)<sup>47</sup>.

Steinhöwel seems to be very much aware of the differences exhibited by these fables and the "later ones". He distinguishes between those fables (of whatever antiquity) that were translated or otherwise made

<sup>46</sup> On this group see Bruno Herlet, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der äsopischen Fabel im Mittelalter* (Program Bamberg, 1892), especially insofar as they are represented in the Romulus monacensis. Steinhöwel's relationship is characterised here as second or third hand.

<sup>47</sup> Hermann Knust, "Steinhöwel's Äsop", pp. 198-199; and Lenaghan, "Steinhöwel's 'Esopus'", p. 3. See also Hervieux, 2, 263-290.

available to the common pool of fables during the Middle Ages on the one hand, and those which he knew to have been translated from the Greek more recently on the other. This explains the “antique” in the section title above the Extravagantes inviting comparison with the tag “fabule nove” found with Rinuccio. Steinhöwel’s choice of words strikes us as particularly ironic, for in fact of course, the Extravagantes are mostly of considerably later origin than those elements of the Greek prose tradition translated by Rinuccio. The motifs found in the Extravagantes are not generally known in German fable collections before Steinhöwel. Parts of various tales (be it remembered that the Extravagantes, as a group, are generally motif-bundles, rather than single episodes), in particular nos. 81, 83, 85, 89 and part of no. 90 are found in the *Magdeburger Aesop*; nos. 83, 85, 89 and again part of 90 are also found in Gerhard von Minden; and one fable, no. 84, is found in Boner’s *Edelstein*, there as no. 71. A few of the fables are known in variant versions in Latin earlier than Steinhöwel’s Latin texts, but Steinhöwel’s *Esopus* serves as the first known version for ten of the seventeen in Perry’s *Aesopica* (P693-P707).

Rare as these fables are in the era preceding Steinhöwel, they do not seem to have gained much in popularity after Steinhöwel’s *Esopus* came to light. Although whatever currency they may have is certainly due directly to Steinhöwel’s having made them available in the first place, they are not widely encountered in the sixteenth century and are not well known today. No. 83 “Von den Fuchs und dem han” (P562 “Partridge and Fox”) is mentioned by Luther who of course had the Steinhöwel edition in his hand and had occasion, at least, to know them all. This is the only fable from this group that he mentions (*Tischreden* 5, 361), although he quotes from other sections over and over again<sup>48</sup>. Only five of these fables (and a part of a sixth) are to be found in Waldis’ huge collection<sup>49</sup>, and one fable (no. 82 “Von dem

<sup>48</sup> Luther’s use of this and other fables is partially covered by Wolf von Both, *Luther und die Fabel* (dissertation, Breslau, 1927). See Carnes, “The Fable in Service to the Reformation”, for additions to Both. Mathesius also quotes this fable from Luther a few times; see Wolf, “Erzähltraditionen in homiletischen Quellen”, p. 713.

<sup>49</sup> Nos. 81 “Von dem mul, fuchs und wolff” (P693 “Unlucky Wolf, Fox and Mule”) is found in Waldis III, 60; 83 “Von dem fuchs und dem han” (P562 “Partridge and Fox”) is similar in motif to Waldis IV, 2; and 84 “Von dem fuchs und der kaczen” (P640 “Soldier and Serpent”) is Waldis II, 21. Others are not clearly from the same source. No. 89 “Von dem fuchs, wolff und löwen” (P698 “Wolf as Fisherman, cf. P258, P625 and P585); has elements found in Waldis III, 91; and 91 “Von dem nydigen hund” (P702 “Dog in the Manger”) is Waldis I, 64, although only the basic motif is the same, and

eber, lemern und wolff"; P 694 "Little Boar") appears much later in the 1592 *Alte Neue Zeitung* attributed to Georg Rollenhagen<sup>50</sup>. There are also seven fables which show up in Johannes Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst*<sup>51</sup> and a few are found scattered about in various *Schwank* collections published during the sixteenth century; four in Kirchhof's gigantic *Wendunmuth*<sup>52</sup>, for example, but they are not often met.

The often mentioned translation of Greek fables from the Greek prose tradition by Rinuccio d'Arezzo forms the basis for the next section in Steinhöwel's *Esopus*. This sixth "book" consists of seventeen fables taken from that translation. Rinuccio—or Rimicius as he is called in Steinhöwel and in a number of other collections printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries<sup>53</sup>—translated his one hundred fables from a Greek manuscript of the "Vindobonensis" recension (Recension II), most likely a direct ancestor of the *P* manuscript of the fourteenth or fifteenth century<sup>54</sup>. The first known printed version is the Milan edition of 1474, printed by Anton Zarotus<sup>55</sup>.

Apparently Rinuccio intended at first to translate only the *Vita Aesopi* as can be inferred from the dedication to the work: "Quo tempore sanctissimus dominus noster Nicolaus pontifex quintus dum erat in minoribus ad dignitatem cardinalatus fuit promotus vitam Aesopi e graeco in latinum", and again from the *proemium*: "Vita Esopi latina per ryntium facta ...", with not a word about the fables<sup>56</sup>. Whatever his intent, he did choose one hundred fables from his source to be published

is at any rate a common motif, even a biblical one. Steinhöwel 97 is also somewhat similar to Waldis III, 29, but the resemblance is not a close one.

<sup>50</sup> Edited by Eli Sobel as no. 10 in the Folklore Studies series (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958). This fable is no. 15 in that collection: "Vom Eber und Wolff". The Rollenhagen version does not come directly from Steinhöwel and in fact the sources of many of the Rollenhagen entries are unknown.

<sup>51</sup> Nos. 83, 84, 89 are found there in a form very close to Steinhöwel; no. 90 is partially represented, as are nos. 93 and 96.

<sup>52</sup> Nos. 84, 86, and 91 are found here in full; no. 92 has the last half in this collection.

<sup>53</sup> This is the cause of the confusion that lies at the basis of Lessing's famous essay "Romulus und Rimicius". The "Rimicius" is of course Rinuccio, easily seen to anyone examining Steinhöwel. Lessing triumphantly discovers this simple fact and unravels a century or two of confusion.

<sup>54</sup> So Perry, "The Greek Source of Rinuccio's Aesop", p. 53.

<sup>55</sup> *Gesamtkatalog* no. 335. Achelis claims to know of an edition printed in Augsburg in 1472, in "Die Fabeln des Rimicius in Steinhöwels Aesop", *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 42 (1917), 315-330, see pp. 316-317; I can find no record of this edition.

<sup>56</sup> From the 1475 (?) edition (Rome: Guldinbeck), p. ii.a.

with the Vita and claims that he chose those fables which he had on hand ("quotquot ad manus meas pervenerunt", p. iii.a.)<sup>57</sup>.

These "Rimician" fables in Steinhöwel's collection are introduced by: "Sequuntur aliquae Esopi nove translationis Remicii" (Oesterley, p. 243), clearly indicating his feelings that the Rinuccio fables were in fact Aesopic. Steinhöwel took his fables from the Rinuccio text generally in order: Steinhöwel nos. 98 to 114 correspond to Rinuccio 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 15, 21, 40, 43, 53, 68, 70, 74, 90, 97, 100 and 18. It will be seen that only the last fable in the list is "out of order", with respect to its position in Rinuccio. Perhaps Steinhöwel, having just completed a book of seventeen Extravagantes ("antique"), wanted to achieve something of a balance by the addition of seventeen "Rimician" ("nove") fables. Steinhöwel's procedure might be reconstructed somewhat along these lines: working through the Rinuccio collection and excluding those fables for which he had analogues in either the Romulus or the Avianus sections, he selected sixteen. Then, perhaps needing another to round out the seventeen matching his previous section, completed the section with no. 18.

Three fables occur in both Rinuccio's translation and the Avianus book of Steinhöwel's collection, namely P18, P87 and P284. Steinhöwel's inclusion of the Avianus fables would seem to indicate that he had translated both the Romulus and the Avianus materials before he came to the Rinuccio fables, even though the Avianus section follows the Rinuccio selections in the text. All this would be in accord with the very strong tradition that the Romulus and the Avianus collections formed in effect the medieval Aesop. Steinhöwel seemed to prefer the Avianus fables to the "Rimician" wherever he had a choice. The Avianus fables seemed therefore somewhat more "Aesopic" or more properly fit the canon than the "new" fables of Rinuccio. On the other hand, Steinhöwel clearly thought highly of the Rinuccio collection. He expressly states that he made his selections from Rinuccio after comparing them to the Romulus fables and does not mention the Avianus fables in this connection. The end of the Rinuccio fables reads: "Finis fabularum Esopi a Rimicio nove translationis fabularum Esopi grecarum auctore extracte. Que a Romulo in suis quator libris non continentur"

<sup>57</sup> The manuscript from which he worked is the subject of Perry, "The Greek Source of Rinuccio's Aesop", cited above and Chauncey Finch, "The Alphabetical Notes in Rinuccio's Translation of Aesop's Fables", *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 11 (1957), 90-93.

(Oesterley, p. 259). This is a standard closing line; however, it can be shown that Steinhöwel did in fact work back through the Romulus collection, comparing those fables to the Rinuccio versions he had before him. In Steinhöwel's sixth fable (Romulus I, 6; P 339 "Lion and Ass Hunting Together"), he mentions an alternative version to the Romulus text, and then gives a translation of Rinuccio no. 61 (P 149 "Ass, Lion and Fox"). There are thus two versions of the same fabular motif in the German editions. The Latin contains only the Romulus version. Steinhöwel did not everywhere prefer the Romulus fable when he had a choice between the "Latin" fable and the "Greek" (in Rinuccio's translation). Both are found in Romulus I, 6 and in other places Steinhöwel apparently chose the Rinuccio version over that in Romulus. However, it is clear that Steinhöwel generally preferred the Romulus versions. For the one or two examples in which the Rinuccio fable is given equal or superior status, there are dozens of examples to the contrary. For Steinhöwel and, we must imagine, for generation after generation of school children at their Latin drills, these were the "Aesopic" fables. The strongest evidence for this is seen in his positioning of the Romulus books as the first entries in his *Esopus* and his naming them "libri quarti Esopi". Secondly, although he certainly concedes their Aesopic nature at the end of the book, Steinhöwel does not mention Aesop within the Rinuccio fables (nor did he in the Extravagantes). The transitional line between the promythium and the narrative is generally "De hoc audi fabulam" in Rinuccio and this is given in German normally as "Dar von höre ain fabel", or a close variant. In the Romulus collection, this copulative line was regularly replaced with "... seczet Esopus dise fabel", or "... als dise kurcze fabel Esopi würt beweyset", as well as the "Dar von höre ain fabel". Finally, those cases in which Steinhöwel replaces or improves a fable known from Romulus or Avianus with a "Rimician" version are greatly outweighed by those cases in which he did not, though the opportunity often did exist for him to take his text from the Rinuccio collection.

Steinhöwel edits the Rinuccio fables to fit his own scheme established in the earlier fables. He often adds promythia, generally taking the epimythia always found with the fables and, rewriting them only slightly, placing them at the beginning. This is often done while maintaining the epimythium at the end, on analogy with the majority of fables in the Romulus fables and in all the Extravagantes. No. 102 "De vulpe et rubo" ("Von dem fuchs und bronberstuden" = P 19



"Fox and Thornbush") serves as an example. The epimythium reads: "Fabula significat, quod stulte imploratur auxilium ab illis, quibus naturale est obesse" ("dise fabel leret, das niemand guottes hoffen sol von denen, die von natur böss synt"). The Latin promythium is a pedestrian calque on the epimythium: "Stultum est auxilium implorare ab illis, quibus a natura datum est obesse potius quam aliis prodesse". The German translation shows a touch more originality: "Deren hilff ist ain torhait an ze rüffen, denen von der natur gegeben ist mer ze schedigen, wann hilff ze bewysen" (Oesterley, pp. 247-248).

The seventeen fables in this book, together with those fables common to both the Rinuccio translation and the other sections in the *Esopus*, make a total of forty-five Rinuccio fables found in the Steinhöwel collection. Of these, all will be found elsewhere in German literature in the sixteenth century. All will be found in Waldis' collection of 1548, which derive, not from Steinhöwel, but from versions printed in the collection by Martin Dorp in the editions after 1521. Steinhöwel's influence upon the Dorp collection is not at all clear, although, obviously, Steinhöwel was at least known to later collectors and editors such as Dorp could have become aware of the Rinuccio collection through Steinhöwel. The evidence for direct borrowing is slight and does not appear at all in the Rinuccio fables. Dorp prints them all, as a collection, with no regard for doublets elsewhere in his collection. Luther used only one "Rimician" fable from Steinhöwel, no. 107 "Von dem knaben, der die schauß waidet" (P210 "Shepherd who Cried Wolf") although he mentions it twice (*Tischreden* 4, 64 and *Werke* 50, 485). Hans Sachs uses eight of the fables in various reworkings<sup>58</sup>. One of these fables shows up in the *Alte Neue Zeitung*, but Rollenhagen's direct source is more likely Dorp or even the same Greek source that served Rinuccio; direct borrowing from Steinhöwel is hardly likely. Similarly, the nine fables found in Kirchhof's *Wendunmuth* are probably not taken directly from Steinhöwel's collection.

By the end of the first half of the sixteenth century, the label "Rimician"—referring to the one hundred fables translated by Rinuccio—had ceased to have any actual meaning (though retained of course in further editions of those collections with "Rimician" sections), and

<sup>58</sup> Nos. 99, 104, 106, 107, 108, 111, 113, and 114 are used by Sachs in a total of ten pieces. These are listed in the Keller-Goetze edition.

virtually disappears until Lessing's famous essay "Romulus und Rimi-cius"<sup>59</sup>.

The fifth section of the *Esopus* is entitled "Aviani fabule sequuntur" and consists of twenty-seven fables taken from the forty-two of Avianus' collection. These fables were never ascribed to Aesop in the medieval tradition, but a number of them were associated with the Romulus collection and often travelled with that recension. Many of the fables thus found their way into early German collections such as Boner and Gerhard von Minden, but a few appear for the first time in Steinhöwel's *Esopus*<sup>60</sup>.

The exact manuscript of Avianus which Steinhöwel used cannot be determined, but his versions of the Avianus fables are very close to the modern received tradition<sup>61</sup>. Steinhöwel does not attempt verse in his German translation, but he characteristically adds promythia wherever he needs to bring the Avianus fables into line with those in the other books. He fashions his promythia again essentially from the epimythia found in the Avianus verse forms. Avianus' first fable, "De nutrice et infante" (Gaide, 78) begins directly with the narrative. Steinhöwel's version, no. 115 "De rustica et lupo/Von der püwrin und dem wolff" = P 158 "Old Woman and Wolf", is outfitted with: "Welche wybes worten gelouben wöllent, die werdent gar offft betrogen", followed by the cus-

<sup>59</sup> All of the Rinuccio fables were known and printed in Latin. Most of these are from the *Augustana recensio* (there are eighteen exceptions) and extension of the field to include the Babrian fables and those of Recension Ia would then include all the Rinuccio fables save one: no. 47 "De fabro et cane" (P 415 "Dog and the Smiths"). The Joachim Camerarius collection contained nearly all the 231 fables of the Augustana and many more. With virtually the entire Greek prose tradition on hand in the Camerarius edition, the Rinuccio selection of 100 fables has little meaning.

<sup>60</sup> Nos. 121, 132, 135, 139, 140 and 141 are translated into German for the first time here. That does not mean, of course, that Steinhöwel was the first translator of these fables. Avianus was very well known in schools (unlike the Rinuccio fables or the Extravagantes), and was a common model for paraphrase in Latin, and, one might assume, translation.

<sup>61</sup> The "received" tradition poses a number of difficulties that range too far afield to be covered here. See D. R. Shackleton Bailey, "Avianiana", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 82 (1978), 295-301 for a review of the editions from Baehrens to Herrmann, and Jochen Küppers, *Die Fabeln Avians: Studien zu Darstellung und Erzählweise spätantiker Fabeldichtung* (Bonn: Habelt, 1977; first Küppers' Bonn dissertation) for the need for a critical edition. Françoise Gaide's 1980 *Avianus* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres), used here, is still not entirely satisfactory, as seen Küpper's review of that edition. See Carnes, *Fable Scholarship*, listings under Avianus, for a review of the literature. The establishment of the exact text is of course moot for our purposes here, as we are concerned with the text that Steinhöwel used, as distinct from the "best reconstruction" of the Avianus original.

tomary "Dar von höre ain fabel". This brings us to the starting point of the Latin fable. This promythium is clearly engendered as a generalization of the more specific epimythium found in Avianus' original: "Haec sibi dicta putet seque hac sciat arte notari/femineam quisquis credidit esse fidem" (Gaide, 79).

Quite apart from the obvious additions of the promythia and the copulative lines, Steinhöwel took more liberties with the text of the Avianus fables than he did with the others in his collection. In the first fable mentioned above he added a setting for the fable and has greatly expanded the scope of the narrative by making the wolf the center of the action from the very beginning, and by describing the action in terms of the other actors' relationship to the wolf. Steinhöwel does this with a number of fables, rewriting the free prose translations to fit his own ideas of what the fables ought to be. He continues his fashioning of promythia throughout, although occasionally (in nos. 139 and 140) he has simply placed the epimythium in initial position and has not repeated it at the end. Steinhöwel mentions Avianus by name in two of the fables, nos. 128 and 133, in the transitional line between the promythium and the narrative: "Dar von höre ain fabel Aviani des Maisters" (no. 133, Oesterley, p. 283), but Aesop is not mentioned and it is clear that Steinhöwel distinguished between these fables and those he considered to be more properly "Aesopic".

There are twenty-seven *Aviani fabule* in the *Esopus*. The fifteen fables from the original forty-two that Steinhöwel did not include in this section contain three already in the collection: Avianus no. 16 is similar in motif structure to the last fable in the Romulus collection (no. 80); no. 34 is the same fable as Steinhöwel's no. 77; and Avianus 24 is found as Steinhöwel no. 75, the latter two also from Romulus. The Romulus text for Steinhöwel no. 75 is considerably longer than Avianus 24 and adds a continuation; the Avianus fable is shorter and does not have the expanded ending<sup>62</sup>.

Steinhöwel's printing of the twenty-seven fables from the Avianus collection was the first printed "edition" of Avianus, even if a partial one. Most of the fables had been included in Boner's edition (printed in 1462) but Steinhöwel's *Esopus* is the first known printed collection of fables with a section specifically labeled "Aviani fabule"<sup>63</sup>. The first

<sup>62</sup> Fable no. 77 in Steinhöwel (P373) is very similar to Avianus 34, but Steinhöwel may have used the Rinuccio version, see note 44 above.

<sup>63</sup> Boner, *Edelstein*, has versions of Steinhöwel 115-120, 122-129, 131, 133, 136 and 138.

complete edition of Avianus' fables did not appear in print until seven or eight years after Steinhöwel's *Esopus*. This was the *Apologus Aviani civis Romani adolescentulis ad mores et latinum sermonem capescendos utilissimus*, printed in quarto and containing only the fables of Avianus<sup>64</sup>.

The twelve Avianus fables *not* found in either the Avianus section or among the Romulus fables are not generally found in German until Waldis, but many of them became extremely popular. All but one is found in German collections by the end of the sixteenth century demonstrating that Steinhöwel's idea of what a popular story was and was not, was not always infallible. A few of the Avianus fables Steinhöwel left out are among the most popular in Germany during the sixteenth century<sup>65</sup>.

The final section in the *Esopus* is made up of *facetiae* and *Schwänke* which Steinhöwel collected from Petrus Alphonsus (his "Adelphonso") and Poggio. There are only two Aesopic fables in this group of twenty-three stories: the latter portion of Steinhöwel no. 150 "De lupo, rustico, vulpe et caseo" is P669 "Fox and the Shadow of the Moon" (from codex Bruxellensis 536, see Hervieux 2, 598), and no. 164 "De vulpe et gallo et canibus, et pertinet ad finem quarti libri Esopi" contains P671 "Fox and Dove" (see Hervieux 2, 600, no. liii) already discussed above with the Romulus fables. Steinhöwel treats the first of these, his "Von ainem pawren, wolff, fuchs und käs", as he did the earlier fables, adding a promythium and a copulative line: "Gewisse ding lausse nit umb hoffnung der ungewissen, als der wolff; so macht ouch miet und gaub günstigen richter, als der fuchs was; darvon ist dise fabel". Steinhöwel

No. 134 is found in Gerhard von Minden as no. 38 in that collection; no. 137 is found in a similar version in Pfeiffer's *Altdeutsche Beispiele*, no. 25, and compare Der Stricker, no. 83. No earlier versions are known for nos. 121, 132, 135, 139-141.

<sup>64</sup> See Hervieux, 3, 121-123.

<sup>65</sup> Avianus 4, 10, 12, 21, 30, 36, 37, 38, and 40 are found in Waldis' collection; no. 16 is found in part as Steinhöwel no. 80, discussed above, and no. 24 is similar enough to Steinhöwel no. 75 to explain its omission. No. 39 is not found in German until the German translation of Sebastian Brant's expanded edition of the *Esopus* (see below). There the specific version used is most likely the Lorenzo Valla fable as Brant added a number of fables from that source; here no. 20 in that collection. Avianus 23 "De venditore et Baccho", similar to Babrius 30 (P307, with Hermes in both Perry and Babrius), is not known in German during the sixteenth century. It was of course known in numerous Latin forms, but was not included in the Martin Dorp Latin collection, and did not find its way into the Waldis or the Alberus collections dependent upon that source.

also calls nos. 147 and 153 fables. The first of these "Von dem vogler und vögelin", is in fact a fable, though not in the Aesopic tradition. Once again, Steinhöwel provides this fable also with a promythium, though admittedly a weak one: "Dy lere sint ze behalten, die ain vögelin leret; dess höre dise fabel" (Oesterley, p. 313). The fable comes from the *Disciplina Clericalis* (xxiii, 1-6) as do all the selections and was very well known before Steinhöwel; appearing in Boner as no. 92 in the *Edelstein* and in the *Gesta Romanorum* (no. 167). No. 153 is not a fable and is the only non-fable to which Steinhöwel adds the copulative line: "dar von hör ain fabel". This is also the only story not in the received text of the *Disciplina Clericalis*, and is quite possibly from another source. The medieval anecdote "De ceco et eius uxore ac rivale", occurs with the same motif in Boccaccio (*Decamerone*, VII, 9) and in Chaucer ("Merchant's Tale"), but not apparently in German before Steinhöwel. Steinhöwel considers it a fable, and in keeping with his treatment of fables earlier on in the collection, adds a proverbial promythium: "Frowen list unentlich ist; dar von hör ain fabel" (Oesterley, p. 327), but there is no epimythium. The Latin text has neither. It seems to be significant that Steinhöwel does not add morals to those tales which he does not consider to be fables, as is the case for most of the *facetiae* taken from Poggio. Here Steinhöwel generally adds: "Dar von höre ain schimpffred Pogii", which had an actual Latin analogue only in the first tale: "De hoc audi facetiam Pogii" (Oesterley, p. 335). This seems to have also been added by Steinhöwel. None of these *facetiae* is called a fable save the last which, Steinhöwel notes, is actually a fable belonging to the fourth book of Aesop (i.e., Romulus).

Among the many editions of Steinhöwel's *Esopus*, the Basel edition of 1501, edited and with additions by Sebastian Brant is certainly the most noteworthy. Whereas virtually all the previous editions (and most of those to appear later) were more or less simple reprints of either the German or the Latin texts, Brant's edition contained additions that nearly doubled its size. *Esopi appologi sive mythologi cum quibusdam carminum et fabularum additionibus Sebastiani Brandt* was printed by Pfortzheim in Basel in 1501 and contained a total of 300 entries. First Steinhöwel's collection of fables and tales in their Latin versions are printed and this is followed by Brant's own collection of fables and tales both in verse and in prose, often with a source given (Ovid, Virgil, Horace and a number of others). The Brant additions include a few

Aesopic fables not in the Steinhöwel original and alternative versions of two that were<sup>66</sup>.

The Steinhöwel text as reproduced in the Brant edition was not exactly the same as the original editions. New metrical forms of the fables which had none appear for the Romulus material in the third book and two extra fables are added on after no. 60. These are “De judeo et pincerna latrone”, and “De cive et milite servientibus uni domino”. Brant also changes the presentation somewhat in that he leaves out the book and chapter headings as well as the fable numbering system. The superscript fable titles which now introduce the fables are taken partly from the metrical versions as printed by Steinhöwel. The order is also inverted by printing the metrical version first and then the prose narratives. Finally, in one of the most sweeping changes, Brant supplies metrical versions for all the fables which had been given only in prose in the original Steinhöwel edition.

The selections from “Adelphonsi” and Poggio are given prefaces in verse in the Brant edition. These generally describe the “moral” of the tale, and nos. 15, 16, 18, and 19 are omitted. All the Avianus fables are outfitted with prose versions to balance the verse forms, just as the earlier prose fables had been given verse forms. The verse versions are summaries, rather than extensive retellings.

Brant’s Latin edition was followed by a German translation, perhaps as early as 1508<sup>67</sup>, certainly 1535, the date of the edition by Fabricius in Freiburg in Breisgau<sup>68</sup>. This translation does not retranslate the work directly from Brant’s Latin, but reprints the German text of Steinhöwel’s original edition and then adds German translations for the additions. Brant’s additional material within the Steinhöwel text was not translated, and thus the original pattern of roughly the first half

<sup>66</sup> Some fourteen “new” Aesopic fables appear here: P53 is no. 173 in the Brant edition (These are my numbers; the Brant edition does not number the fables), p. 116b “Das Zwitteracht sey ein ursach der umkerung aller land”, from Valla, which also served as the source for P50, Brant 121b of the 1535 edition: “Schwer ist die natur zuverkehren”. Other fables include P29 “De inequali societate”, found on p. 123a of the German edition; P36 on p. 123b, again from Valla; P375 (= Avianus 10) on p. 131b and P61 is on p. 135b. P181, P87, P370, P22, P142 and P118 are also found in the Brant additions in one form or another, often as part of another fable. The page numbers refer to the 1535 edition published by Graff in Freiburg in Breisgau.

<sup>67</sup> Goedeke, *Grundriss* (1862), p. 139.

<sup>68</sup> Goedeke, p. 139; see also Hermann Knust, “Steinhöwels Äsop”, p. 199. Further editions of the German version are known from 1545, 1555, and 1559; with Frankfurt editions from 1608, 1609 and 1622, and an Erfurt edition of 1617.

was more or less restored. The reprinting of the Steinhöwel text is so close to the original of 1476/1477 that many of the editorial comments by Steinhöwel appear in this new context<sup>69</sup>.

Steinhöwel's *Esopus* strongly influenced fable writing and other literature for over half a century. Serving as the *Deutscher Aesopus* this collection became a font for the dozens of collections to be found in the German sixteenth century. It served as the ultimate source for fabular motifs used in sermons and pamphlets for, and less frequently, against the Reformation. The rhetorical use of the fabular motifs is only slightly less important for our considerations than the fable as a literary genre. In bringing together the medieval tradition and the beginnings of the Humanistic fable tradition, Steinhöwel continues all that was of value in the older collections while attempting to start at least toward introducing new motifs into German and a new concept of the fable collection. All modern fable collections owe something at least to Heinrich Steinhöwel and his *Esopus*.

Arizona State University

<sup>69</sup> Surprisingly, this was done without regard for the additions to the Latin text nor with any credit given to Steinhöwel. One example of all of these will suffice: *Esopus Teusch, das ist Das Ganze Leben und Fabeln Esopi, Darbei zu finden die Fabeln Aniani [Aviani], Adelphonsi, und etliche schimpfreden Pogii, auch Ausszüge schöner Fabeln und Exemplen Doctors Sebastian Brandt. Alles klärlich vnd nutzlich auss der lateinischen iu [in] vnser hochteusche Sprach zesammen getragen.* n.p., n.d., copy in the UCLA Special Collections and dated there as "around 1600".

Thomas W. BEST

### IS ERASMUS' PRAISE OF FOLLY FLAWED?

In *The Wild Duck*, Henrik Ibsen's spokesman Dr. Relling believes that illusions are essential for most people. Stability is rare without what he terms a "life-lie" ("livsløgn"), and Ibsen corroborates the physician's thesis by having a fanatical meddler, who insists that honesty is the best policy, persuade the self-pitying dreamer Hjalmar Ekdal that Ekdal's wife has concealed a compromising part of her past. Instead of revamping his marriage, in keeping with the interloper's expectations, Ekdal comes to doubt the legitimacy of his teen-age daughter Hedvig. Despite having loved her dearly, he repudiates her, whereupon she shoots herself, trusting that her sacrifice will please him. Like Ibsen, Erasmus understood that our delicate sensibilities can be injured by the unshaded glare of truth. As if anticipating *The Wild Duck*, he had Dame Moria argue that conjugal bliss depends on a certain amount of ignorance. "Papae", she cries, "quam pauca coirent matrimonia si sponsus prudenter exquireret, quos lusus delicata illa, sicuti videtur, ac pudens virguncula iam multo ante nuptias luserit"<sup>1</sup>? What chiefly unifies Moria's long defense of herself and of what she represents is the steadily reiterated theme that she alone is responsible for joy<sup>2</sup>. A principal way in which she claims to engender joy is through delusion, so that she would heartily agree with Dr. Relling about life-lies being a necessary shield against reality. We are all actors, desperately pretending to be what we are not, she proclaims at one point (p. 104), and later (p. 130) she opines that the worst condition possible is not to be

<sup>1</sup> *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, IV, 3 (Amsterdam and Oxford, 1979), p. 94. Unless otherwise indicated, page references will be to this edition, which was prepared by Clarence H. Miller.

<sup>2</sup> Joël Lefebvre, *Les fols et la folie* (Paris, 1968), p. 245, has written, "Le thème qui sous-tend celui de la folie dans ses sens divers et en compagnie de façon continue les renversements et les retours est l'idée générale de bonheur ...".



deceived. In the middle section of her fundamentally tripartite discourse<sup>3</sup> she actually denounces many types of fools, but she still purports to have arranged a paradise for them, in effect, by blinding them to their faults, with which they are downright enamored.

Preaching friars, for instance, are homiletical bunglers, she sneers (pp. 162-68). After a far-fetched exordium they hardly touch on the Bible, for they merely simulate devoutness, as Moria notes in terminating her critique of them. Rather than dutifully explicate the Gospel, they revel in dialectics, bandying their "syllogismos, maiores, minores, conclusiones, corollaria, suppositiones frigidissimas, ac plusquam scholasticas nugas". For a grand finale they interpret some secular folktale with the tropological, allegorical, and anagogical multivalence of medieval Scriptural exegesis. All along they strain their anemic humor, as they whisper or shout in an artificial, melodramatic fashion. Despite their caricaturing of effective sermons, they nonetheless fancy themselves to be latter-day Pauls and Anthonys, thanks to Moria. Since she numbers them among her devotees, she ought to speak well of these Boanerges, but she makes no effort to curb her antipathy toward them, even though the foibles provoking her disdain are manifestations of the folly she extols. She fails to discern that the silly preachers owe not only their self-esteem but also their incompetence to her.

While she damages her cause by blaming any of her followers, she denigrates a large assortment of votaries in the second part of her oration. In addition to the friars, she launches large-scale attacks on grammarians, rhetoricians, writers, lawyers, dialecticians, philosophers, theologians, monks, kings and courtiers, plus popes, cardinals, and bishops, together with "the common herd of priests" ("vulgus sacerdotum"). In the first section of her speech she campaigns against ardent hunters, insatiable builders, alchemists, gamblers, the credulous, the superstitious, and nobles proud of their status (pp. 118-28), chiding what she defines as the respective lunacies of them all (as if those aberrations were not instilled by her) and preening herself on each group's delight in its obsessions. We will ascertain that in part three she

<sup>3</sup> On p. xxi of Clarence H. Miller (ed.), *The Praise of Folly* (New Haven and London, 1979), the boundaries of section two are set at pp. 76 and 115 in the translation. They correspond to pp. 134 and 176, respectively, in *Opera omnia*, IV, 3. P. 178 in that critical edition is a better terminus ad quem, however, and some scholars commence the second section earlier.

belittles theologians again. Indeed, from time to time throughout her discourse she disapproves of fools.

In 1974 Wayne Rebhorn attempted, more fully than anyone before him, to vindicate the declamation's second part, where "the sympathy and tolerance which had mingled ... with witty mockery and occasional annoyance ... turn to scorn, outrage, and unmitigated invective"<sup>4</sup>. Because of Moria's reprehensions in part two, according to Rebhorn, we realize that the sorceress is inevitably dangerous. "Man's problem is not that his folly is always destructive or vicious", Rebhorn expounds (p. 471), "but that in this world the life-giving, beneficent form of folly cannot be separated from the destructive kind; to accept one is to accept both". Moria's exposure of her insidious nature in the second section prepares us for her rhetoric's finale, in which she rhapsodizes on the subject of Christian blessedness. Rebhorn feels that we are more willing to be proselytized in part three after learning in the second part that the pleasures of worldliness are specious. Moria's encomium, he states on p. 472, "brings man to a full perception of the ambivalent, inadequate, futile character of life on this earth, and then it leads him beyond that comitragic vision to a fuller, more all-encompassing one". The diversity in Moria's disquisition resolves itself into unity when properly understood.

Clarence Miller also maintained in 1974 that the middle section of the speech "is essential to the impact of the whole work"<sup>5</sup>. By reflecting society's corruption, the "medial survey" sets up part three, where "the world and all its ways are rejected by Christian fools" (p. 509). Because the sinfulness apparent in the rogues' gallery of part two explains why Christians spurn mundane affairs, the second section constitutes an indispensable transition from section one to section three. Thus Miller's reasoning would be virtually identical with Rebhorn's if it did not include another idea, as well. Part two, in which Erasmus' voice "blends with" Moria's, is supposed to be a more direct presentation of his "own intellectual and social aims" than either of the other parts (p. 507). Besides preparing us for section three, Erasmus contributed sub-

<sup>4</sup> "The Metamorphoses of Moria: Structure and Meaning in *The Praise of Folly*", *PMLA*, 89 (1974), 468. Rebhorn's division between parts one and two falls on p. 132 of *Opera omnia*, IV, 3. In an article with a similar title ("The Metamorphoses of Erasmus' 'Folly'", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 32 [1971], 289-94) Lynda Christian overlooks the encomium's middle section.

<sup>5</sup> "Some Medieval Elements and Structural Unity in Erasmus' *The Praise of Folly*", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 27 (1974), 507.

stance, Miller believes, by foisting his own vexations onto Moria, regardless of artistic consequences (or no matter what problems result concerning the use of auctorial persona, as Miller asseverates in the introduction to his translation)<sup>6</sup>. Minus its central section, the goddess' apologia "could never have served as the finest quintessence of Erasmian ideals"<sup>7</sup>.

In an essay conceived before the appearance of Rebhorn's and Miller's but published only in 1976, Richard Sylvester concurs with them. "By descending into the depths of moral corruption", he contends, Moria in her central canvassing of dunces she dislikes "has, as it were, created a demand for some positive vision" which is section three of her oration<sup>8</sup>. "In a sense", Sylvester continues, "she has progressed in a kind of Hegelian pattern from the delightful thesis of her opening movement (the natural world where, willy-nilly, all men are fools), through its antithetical opposite (the decayed world in which men deliberately manipulate reality through their ignorance and wickedness), to a final synthesis which offers a higher wisdom, the ultimate folly of the fool in Christ". In other words, Sylvester sees Moria as advancing dialectically from folly to wisdom, then on to a conjunction of folly with wisdom. (In no less applicable Freudian parlance, she transforms herself from instinctive id to prohibitive superego and climactically to integrative ego, which coordinates the previous two, as the Cross combines morality with faith's irrationality. Such a perspective tends to emphasize how diverse the appeal of Moria's declamation has been. Like *Eulenspiegel* it is permissive in part one, and like *The Ship of Fools* it is prescriptive in part two, besides being fervently religious in part three, like *The Imitation of Christ*).

Sylvester, Miller, and Rebhorn are justified in assuring us that *The Praise of Folly* possesses coherence, despite consisting of three distinctive segments, yet integration is not equivalent to flawlessness. While accounting for the speech's second section structurally, all three apologists neglect it psychologically. Like most Erasmus experts, they minimize the absurdness in Moria's disloyalty to many of her faithful and ultimately to herself, though Miller does acknowledge that her author violates the goddess' integrity. Sylvester, who concedes that in rebuffing

<sup>6</sup> *The Praise of Folly*, p. xxv.

<sup>7</sup> "Some Medieval Elements", p. 510.

<sup>8</sup> "The Problem of Unity in *The Praise of Folly*", *English Literary Renaissance*, 6 (1976), 138. Sylvester starts the encomium's second part on p. 118 of *Opera omnia*, IV, 3.

star pupils Moria “almost goes too far”, is satisfied that “she catches herself just in time, drawing back ‘for fear that she should seem to be composing a satire rather than pronouncing a eulogy’”<sup>9</sup>. Sylvester is overly generous, however, for in fact she recoils too late. Admitting that she “forgets her part” and “speaks like wisdom”, Preserved Smith condoned her role reversal by submitting that “the most natural words to describe her animadversions are the words of Scripture: ‘Whom she loveth she chasteneth’”<sup>10</sup>. Such words are only “the most natural” if, like Smith, we sentimentalize. Where is the love in Moria’s rebuke of her inept preachers? When she has vented her spleen toward them, she snorts, “Verum ego istos histriones tam ingratos beneficiorum meorum dissimulatores quam improbos simulatores pietatis libenter relinquo” (p. 168). Lest any doubt linger about her serious inconstancy, let us single out just one more class of enthusiasts from the lengthy processions of those she vilifies.

No one could be more miserable than Jesus’ earthly vicars if the latter fulfilled their obligations, Moria charges in her castigation of popes à la Julius II (pp. 172-74). Thoughtful Christians would refuse to sell their property for the purchase of St. Peter’s chair and then repel their enviers “gladio, veneno omnique vi”. If chosen to govern the church, they would gladly renounce the papacy’s perquisites, replacing riches and pleasure with orisons and labor. Most of the attendants thronging the Vatican would consequently perish, and pontiffs themselves would be relegated “ad peram et baculum”. Moria regrets that the likes of Julius II (who reigned in Rome when Erasmus drafted her encomium) consign to Peter and Paul whatever work there is, indulging in luxury, pomp, and self-assertiveness. They love to hurl the bolts of their anathemas, especially at opponents of their territorial ambitions, for the furtherance of which they wage war with gusto. They convince themselves that they are fighting on behalf of the church, “quasi vero ulli sint hostes ecclesiae perniciosiores quam impii pontifices, qui et silentio Christum sinunt abolescere et quaestuariis legibus alligant

<sup>9</sup> “The Problem of Unity”, p. 137. The phrase quoted from Moria can be found on p. 176 of *Opera omnia*, IV, 3.

<sup>10</sup> Erasmus, *A Study of His Life, Ideals and Place in History* (New York and London, 1923), p. 123. A critic loath to pardon Moria’s “squilibri” is Rocco Montano, on p. 114 of *Follia e saggezza nel Furioso e nell’ Elogio di Erasmo* (Napoli, 1942). Montano impugns Huizinga’s verdict, “Van opzet en uitbeelding is de Moria onberispelijk”, p. 93 in *Erasmus* (Haarlem, 1924); and on p. 100 Huizinga concedes: “Af en toe ontspoort de satire wel even, namelijk wanneer Stultitia regelrecht gispt, wat Erasmus gispen wil ...”.

et coactis interpretationibus adulterant et pestilente vita iugulant", Moria rages, utterly oblivious of the fact that her rancor is aroused by rascals committed to her. She sounds like Peter, as the guardian of heaven, scolding the title figure's spirit in *Julius exclusus*, Erasmus' later dialogue lampooning the apostolic conqueror by name.

Moria's attitude throughout the critical surveys in parts one and two of her address is schizophrenic. She congratulates herself for gratifying her disciples, but simultaneously she upbraids them for the very attributes which they have acquired from her. To whatever extent they err, so does she, and having charmed them is nothing to vaunt. Her overt self-appreciation is undercut by covert self-depreciation. A. E. Douglas, who "finds it amazing that the *Praise of Folly* has ever been regarded as a literary masterpiece", is not the least bit unfair in remonstrating that when Moria deals with character defects "she should defend them, and leave the reader to take the point"<sup>11</sup>. Any faults that are indefensible she ought to omit, one might add. While the contrast with its central section highlights her speech's final part, as Rebhorn, Miller, and Silvester argue, the gain is bought at the alarming price of protracted self-contradiction. It is not true that accusing Erasmus of carelessness and confusion is evidence of having been duped by him, as Zoja Pavlovskis assumes<sup>12</sup>.

Moria's denial, quoted by Sylvester, that she means to satirize instead of to eulogize, despite her indignation over the scamps whom she has mustered in sections one and two of her discourse, does prove that Erasmus was partly conscious of her inconsistency, to be sure. Since he let it stand—even reinforcing it through textual expansions—he must have anticipated most of his readers in failing to judge its magnitude, unless he preferred to forfeit esthetics for the sake of ethics. He did permit himself a kindred sacrifice in section three, he claims in vindicating *The Praise of Folly* to Martin Dorp (1515). When Moria glorifies Christianity, he maintains, she evinces greater reverence than is actually characteristic of her. In effect, Erasmus affirms, verisimilitude capitulates to piety in section three<sup>13</sup>. Analogously, whether we agree with him or not, Moria's sanity may have been subordinated to society's reform in her castigation of the fools who irked her author, but several

<sup>11</sup> "Erasmus as a Satirist", in T. A. Dorey (ed.), *Erasmus* (London, 1970), pp. 49 and 46.

<sup>12</sup> *The Praise of Folly, Structure and Irony* (Leiden, 1983), p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> P. S. Allen (ed.), *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 2 (Oxford, 1910), p. 105.

smaller inconsistencies also exist. Their presence implies that Erasmus needed no particular reason to tolerate Moria's betrayal of her brood.

One of the less damaging discrepancies is pervasive enough to affect her entire encomium. Near the speech's end (p. 192) she adumbrates heaven in Platonic language which was controversial but still commensurate with Christian orthodoxy. The spirit will absorb the body, she prophesies, and in turn be assimilated by "mente illa summa", so that it will experience "quiddam ineffabile a summo illo bono omnia in se rapiente". Previously in *The Praise of Folly*, however, the pagan pantheon tends to legislate on high. At the outset of section two, Moria tells us that the gods above spend their mornings soberly arbitrating disputes and hearing petitions. Later, in bibulous relaxation, they perch where heaven juts out farthest and amuse themselves by watching human antics. We could conjecture that the Olympians are merely inferior deities if Moria did not portray Jupiter as supreme in part one. For instance, on p. 80 she calls him not only "hominum rex" but also "deum pater", and on p. 90 she credits him with the creation of mankind<sup>14</sup>.

Though not responsible for the lack of uniformity in her cosmos, she can hardly be excused from several other accidental incongruities. On p. 80 she asserts that "genus omne rerum" is actually subject to her dominion (rather than to Jupiter's), whereas just two paragraphs earlier she accords her father Plutus the same distinction. Solely the god of wealth holds sway over everything, she declares on p. 76, but then, when she lists the gifts of the gods on p. 132, she totally disregards her sire. "Non ita multis obtigerunt opes, dextro Hercule", she says there, unmindful of Plutus. On p. 176 control of human affairs even passes to Fortuna, under the alias Rhamnusia. While Moria recognizes on p. 76 that "stultissimus" is the most honorable adjective for her minions and on p. 114 she deems "morio", "stultus", "fatuus", and "bliteus" to be the loveliest of titles, she lets her name become an insult on p. 86, for she issues this challenge: "Coelum omne lustrate et mihi meum nomen opprobret licebit quicunque volet, si quem omnino deorum repperit non insuavem et aspernabilem, nisi meo numine commendetur". In a similar vein she contemns the wise on p. 112 as "bis stulti" because they presume to transcend nature. On pp. 90 and 94 she holds that a person can be too foolish, as a result of either growing angry at

<sup>14</sup> Pavlovskis equates Moria's Jupiter "with the Christian God" (*The Praise of Folly*, p. 32, n. 9), but he disregards the fact that her outlook tends to be heathen in the first part of her talk.

her or thinking that he can please his fellow men despite not pleasing himself. Occasionally Moria forgets that wisdom, her antithesis, is not supposed to be desirable. For a moment on p. 81 she has trouble deciding whether abstention from the pleasure she brings would be wise or foolish—i.e., negative or positive, respectively. She compliments Socrates on p. 98 for having been wise enough to disclaim wisdom and to dissociate politics from it. On p. 100 she grants that Marcus Aurelius was a good emperor because he sought to be wise. She boasts on p. 106 that wisdom, which she terms a haven ("portum"), qualifies as "egregiam", and equates with the "acme of happiness" ("felicитatis ... arcem"), can only be acquired through her guidance. On p. 126 she questions whether we have ever beheld anyone who, through the worship of saints, "stulticiam effugerit, qui vel pilo sit factus sapientior". In contrast, one of the pages on which she expresses her normal and proper opinion of wisdom is 116, where she sketches the following portrait of a victim poisoned by it:

Finge iam ... hominem qui totam pueritiam atque adolescentiam in perdiscendis disciplinis contriverit et suavissimam vitae partem perpetuis vigiliis, curis, sudoribus perdiderit, ne in reliqua quidem omni vita vel tantillum voluptatis degustarit, semper parcus, pauper, tristis, tetricus, sibiipsi iniquus ac durus, aliis gravis et invisus, pallore, macie, valetudine, lippitudine confectus, senio canicieque multo ante diem contracta, ante diem fugiens e vita. Quanquam quid refert quando moriatur istiusmodi, qui nunquam vixerit? Habetis egregiam illam sapientis imaginem.

Though many of Moria's pronouncements amount to wisdom, commending it is as self-defeating for her as discommending any manifestations of folly.

In the introduction to his critical edition of her encomium Miller maintains that she contradicts herself with regard to the cave allegory in Book Seven of Plato's *Republic*, when in fact she does not. Toward the tale, says Miller, she "takes diametrically opposite attitudes" in the first and third parts of her speech<sup>15</sup>. Elaborating on this contention in the introduction to his translation<sup>16</sup>, Miller declares,

In the first part, when she is trying to prove that foolish illusions enable us to lead a happy life, she praises the fools who contentedly

<sup>15</sup> *Opera omnia*, IV, 3, p. 19. See also Miller, "The Logic and Rhetoric of Proverbs in Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*", in R. L. DeMolen (ed.), *Essays on the Works of Erasmus* (New Haven, 1978), p. 85.

<sup>16</sup> *The Praise of Folly*, p. xvi.

watch the shadows in the cave and contemptuously dismisses the wiseman who perversely insists on seeing the reality outside. But in the third part, when she claims as her own devout Christians who reject the world and the flesh for the things of the spirit, she praises this same wiseman as an exemplary Christian fool.

Moria's words in section one (p. 132) are, "Num quid interesse censetis inter eos, qui in specu illo Platonico variarum rerum umbras et simulacra demirantur, modo nihil desiderent neque minus sibi placeant, et sapientem illum, qui specum egressus veras res aspicit". Her point is not that the deluded captives are happier with their life-lies but rather that they are just as blissful as the disillusioned freedman. She is not contemptuous of him, either, however much she ought to be. Then, in part three (p. 190), she affirms of conventional humanity,

Itaque solet iis usuvenire, quod iuxta Platonicum figmentum opinor accidere iis, qui in specu vincti rerum umbras mirantur, et fugitivo illi, qui reversus in antrum veras res vidisse se praedicat, illos longe falli, qui praeter miseras umbras nihil aliud esse credant. Etenim sapiens hic commiseratur ac deplorat illorum insaniam, qui tanto errore teneantur. Illi vicissim illum veluti delirantem rident atque eiiciunt.

The insiders and the outsider are equally satisfied in each passage. The only difference is that in section three the realist represents Christians. Even if Moria scorned him in part one, she could logically admire him in the final section of her declamation (though he should not be labeled as "sapiens" there). He is not a Christian in the first part, and she is scarcely concerned with Christians in that segment. As she is entitled to do, she alters the parable's function. "Diametrically opposite attitudes" toward Plato's renegade would thus be perfectly permissible.

In the introduction to his critical edition Miller also avers that Moria "both accepts and rejects Pythagorean philosophy"<sup>17</sup>. Evidently what Miller views as her rejection occurs on p. 80, where she says of the penis, "Is demum est sacer ille fons, unde vitam hauriunt omnia verius quam ille Pythagoricus quaternio". Accordingly, her supposed acceptance of Pythagoreanism is located on p. 112, where the goddess acclaims Micryllus' barnyard pet in Lucian's *The Dream, or the Cock*. "Proinde nunquam satis laudari gallum illum Pythagoram", she gushes. Though the rooster was once Pythagoras, it is not to be identified with his

<sup>17</sup> *Opera omnia*, IV, 3, p. 19, n. 32. See also Miller, "The Logic and Rhetoric of Proverbs", p. 85.



philosophy—of which, moreover, the tetrad is only one aspect. The ambivalence toward Pythagoreanism which Miller ascribes to Moria is another mirage which vanishes upon inspection.

With regard to two of her author's *bêtes noires*, war and reactionary theologians, she is definitely inconsistent, but she reverts so quickly to her and Erasmus' customary stance that this pair of self-contradictions has to be intentional. Like her other sophistries, these must have been contrived for the sake of argument<sup>18</sup>. "An non omnium laudatorum facinorum seges ac fons est bellum", Moria inquires on p. 96, implying that the *ultima ratio regum* is something positive, as for her it ought to be. In a concomitant question she deems it a folly but brands it a negative one, for she asks, "Porro quid stultius quam ob causas, nescio quas, certamen eiusmodi suscipere, unde pars utraque semper plus aufert incommodi quam boni"? Actually despising war, which she curses on p. 174 as "res ... adeo immanis ut feras, non homines deceat, adeo insana ut poetae quoque fingant a furiis immitti, adeo pestilens ut universam morum luem simul invehat, adeo iniusta ut a pessimis latronibus optime soleat administrari, adeo impia ut nihil cohaereat cum Christo", Moria briefly reverses her sentiment, on p. 96, in order to augment her credit. When we turn to the matter of obscurantist theologians, we find in section three of her discourse that she sides with them against their better educated, humanist counterparts, despite having reviled them from p. 144 to p. 158, in the course of her part-two parade. "Ego magnos, pingues, crassos, et vulgo probatissimos theologos sequor, cum quibus magna pars doctorum errare ... malit quam cum istis trilinguibus bene sentire", she alleges on p. 182, the more Scholastic divines being likelier to second her sly interpretation of 2 Corinthians 11:23 (on the same page). She summons "quidam gloriosus theologus" to her defense, but her presentation of him reeks with disparaging irony, as "gloriosus" already indicates. Soon she ceases to disguise her estimate of him at all, while coyly continuing to suppress his name. As if she never perverted Scripture herself and had not just done so, she scoffs on p. 184 that "magnus ille", who is Nicolas de Lyra, "ex

<sup>18</sup> Herbert B. Rothschild, "Blind and Purlind: A Reading of *The Praise of Folly*", *Neophilologus*, 54 (1970), 224, rates the goddess as naively fallacious rather than studiously so. She refutes him when she introduces her claim to prudence (p. 102 in *Opera omnia*, IV, 3). If Rothschild were right, would she hesitantly speculate, "Verum hoc quoque successurum arbitror, si vos modo, quod antehac fecistis, auribus atque animis favebitis"? Her dialectical trickery displays her cleverness and impudence, not her limitations, as Rothschild surmises.

Lucae verbis sententiam expresserit, tam consentaneam animo Christi quam igni cum aqua convenit"<sup>19</sup>. On pp. 185-86 she likewise pillories three of Nicolas' colleagues.

Every peruser of her encomium has probably been impressed by Moria's encyclopedic store of information, though many readers have surely found it frustrating, to boot. Even in the Renaissance her numerous allusions to and quotations from not only the Bible and classical authors but also from medieval ones, together with her Greek and her mythological reminiscences, surpassed the ken of normally educated people. As early as 1515 Gerard Lister, aided by Erasmus, compiled an extensive commentary for the elucidation of her text, and in Miller's critical edition the address is accompanied by well over a thousand explanatory glosses. It is possible that Moria acquired her lore through study, but her derogation of scholars, as in the passage quoted earlier from p. 116, militates against the notion that she has belonged to their ranks herself, even if learning is effortless for her as a goddess. Because she was born in the Isles of the Blest, where "neque labor neque senium neque morbus est ullus" (p. 78), we could assume that her knowledge is innate, much as mastery of Scripture was a celestial gift to the apostles, according to the "consul" in Erasmus' *Antibarbari*<sup>20</sup>. On p. 180, however, Moria informs us that she has steeped herself in theology by associating with practitioners of it:

Utinam et vultum alium liceat sumere et ornatus adsit theologicus. Verum illud interim vereor, ne quis me furti ream agat, quasi clanculum magistrorum nostrorum scrinia compilaverim, quae tantum rei theologiae teneam. Sed non adeo mirum videri debet, si tam diutina, quae mihi arctissima est, cum theologis consuetudine nonnihil arripui, cum ficulus etiam ille deus Priapus nonnullas Graecas voces legente domino subnotarit tenueritque et Gallus Lucianicus longo hominum convictu sermonem humanum expedite calluerit.

The best solution to the problem of Moria's erudition in general is that she has been a curious and attentive listener, without having worked at scholarship. She is a dilettante with a prodigious memory and a lively interest in human activity of every sort. Stupendous though her

<sup>19</sup> M. A. Screech, *Ecstasy and The Praise of Folly* (London, 1980), pp. 16-17 and 242-43, stresses that Moria blindly misquoted 2 Corinthians 11:23 in the initial form of her declamation. In 1514 Erasmus had her recall the verse (or fragment of it) correctly but arbitrarily distort it, falling back on Nicolas.

<sup>20</sup> *Opera omnia*, I, 1 (Amsterdam, 1969), p. 130.

retentiveness is, it nevertheless falls short of being absolute. She is uncertain, on p. 164, whether the English word "sin" means "peccatum". She warns us on p. 186 that she may not always quote verbatim, and on p. 188 she fears that her recollection of a prayer by Aaron is a possible case in point. Just as she is right about "sin", she proceeds to recite Numbers 12:11 precisely, but she does mishandle some other details.

Annotators have discovered a series of factual errors in her speech. On p. 86 she brags, "Apud me succus est ille mirificus, quo Memnonis filia Tithoni avi sui iuventam prorogavit", yet it was Tithonus' senectitude, not his youth, which was lengthened, and Memnon had no daughter. Tithonus' longevity was due to his wife Aurora, who was Memnon's mother. On p. 100 Moria calls M. Antoninus (Marcus Aurelius) M. Antonius (Mark Antony), and she wrongly attributes to Themistocles an Aesopian fable about the hedgehog and the fox. On p. 102 she confuses the legendary Marcus Curtius, who was reputed to have leapt on horseback into a chasm which suddenly opened in the Roman Forum, with Quintus Curtius Rufus, Alexander's historiographer. Unless she is being ironic, she thinks on p. 112 that the rooster in Lucian's *The Dream, or the Cock* was once a sponge. The bird has passed through many prior existences, but Moria fabricates that particular reincarnation. Also on p. 112 she asserts that Homer repeatedly ("subinde") characterizes all mortals as not only miserable but also wretched ("μοχθηρούς"), when in fact he never does so. She believes on p. 178 that Horace's verse "dulce est desipere in loco" does not belong to the same poem as "misce stultitiam consiliis brevem", though it is the very next line in ode 4:12. On p. 180 she places the Apocryphal teaching "Melior est homo qui abscondit stulticiam suam quam homo qui abscondit sapientiam suam" in the forty-fourth chapter of Ecclesiasticus rather than in chapter forty-one.

Besides those seven or eight mistakes, Moria makes three others, which Miller strongly suspects Erasmus of having planned, though Miller does not support his hunches with any evidence. On pp. 96-98 the goddess reports that Socrates "nescio quid publice conatus agere summo cum omnium risu discessit". Such a contretemps cannot be documented, and Miller accuses Moria of resorting to sophistry<sup>21</sup>. Distorting a sentence which Cicero penned to Atticus, she says on

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., IV, 3, pp. 97-98, note to lines 479-80. Cf. *The Praise of Folly*, p. 36, n. 3.

p. 118 that the statesman desired distraction “*ceu magnum quoddam deorum munus ... nimirum quo tantorum malorum sensu carere posset*”. What he actually wished was that he had kept his composure under fire<sup>22</sup>. On p. 142 Moria ridicules the Greco-Latin names with which humanists often beautified themselves: “*Cum alius sese Telemachum, alius Stelenium aut Laertem, hic Polycratem, ille Thrasymachum sese nominari gaudet ...*”. Stelenus is the only name which is otherwise unknown, so that it looks like a corruption of Sthenelus, which occurs in *The Iliad*, *The Aeneid*, Horace’s lyrics, and elsewhere. Erasmus was capable of deliberately formulating a misnomer, as Miller comments<sup>23</sup>, but why would he invent only one name out of five? The likeliest explanation for all of his (and Moria’s) factual errors is that he dispensed with a careful check of what he composed. Despite revising *The Praise of Folly* seven times, from 1512 to 1532, he continued either to overlook or to countenance these little blemishes, just as he never removed the gross inconsistency—of which he had at least an inkling—in Moria’s animosity toward her dependents. He was no more concerned about her memory than about her logic<sup>24</sup>.

Her various lapses and blunders harmonize with her reckless non-chalance, to which she alerts us early in her declamation. Her favorite procedure, she announces on p. 74, is “to blurt out whatever pops into my head”, as Miller translates her Greek<sup>25</sup>. She has adopted the methods of the scribbler she derides on p. 142. Just as she babbles at random, so he “*nulla lucubratione, verum utcunque visum est animo, quicquid in calamum incidit, vel somnia sua, statim literis prodit ...*”.

<sup>22</sup> *Opera omnia*, IV, 3, p. 119, note to lines 880-82. Here Miller follows Hoyt H. Hudson (ed.), *The Praise of Folly* (Princeton, 1969), p. 146, note to p. 52. Cf. Miller (ed.), *The Praise of Folly*, p. 58, n. 5, where we read, “Erasmus probably intended to show Folly deliberately twisting Cicero’s words”.

<sup>23</sup> *Opera omnia*, IV, 3, p. 143, note to line 333. Cf. Miller (ed.), *The Praise of Folly*, p. 84, n. 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Opera omnia*, IV, 3, p. 87, Miller challenges Moria’s accuracy in lines 276-78. Ibid., p. 128, line 31, “Arcturum” looks like a malapropism for “Arturum” but can be a valid variant, as Hudson cautions in his *The Praise of Folly*, p. 147, note to p. 59. On realizing that section two might constitute a satire (*Opera omnia*, IV, 3, p. 176), Moria acknowledges that she could be thought to belabor good princes “*dum malos laudo*”, yet bad princes she by no means praises. She appears to have forgotten that what she lauded in connection with them was herself. Curiously enough, it turns out that regarding “Apaedia” on p. 78, line 123, Moria knows more Greek than Erasmus knew! See *Opera omnia*, IV, 3, p. 79, note to line 123, and I. B. Kan’s edition of *The Praise of Folly* (Hagae, 1898), p. 11, n. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Miller (ed.), *The Praise of Folly*, p. 12.

Because her encomium will be extemporaneous, she excuses herself from outlining it in advance, contrary to the precepts of classical rhetoric, and she shies away from a preliminary definition or division of her subject matter (herself, as she quips on p. 74). On p. 90, however, she does not hesitate to explain folly as "affectuum arbitrio moveri", while wisdom is "nihil aliud ... quam duci ratione". On p. 106 she repeats that distinction, for she says, "hac nota a stulto sapientem discernunt, quod illum affectus, hunc ratio temperat". Exploiting further the license which she has arrogated, she rejects on p. 130 what she has just observed about the popularity of anecdotes. She rules the dictum out of place. On p. 188 she concedes that Psalms 24:7, a verse which fortifies her present argument, would also have been valuable previously, had it occurred to her then. When she reaches the end of her discourse (p. 194), she forgoes an epilogue, alleging that she has already forgotten the speech's contents, but she exaggerates. She could surely reconstruct at least their gist.

M. A. Screech supposes that she really has lost track of her address, having been ecstatic, like the Christians whom she has just delineated in part three. When they regain consciousness, after one of their trances, "quid audierint, quid viderint, quid dixerint, quid fecerint, non meminerunt nisi tanquam per nebulam ac somnium", she relates on p. 194. So it is with Moria herself, Screech fancies<sup>26</sup>, but she has only spoken of rapture, not partaken of it. As Lister affirms in his commentary, "Apte praetexit oblivionem ..." <sup>27</sup>. Had she, too, been spiritually transported, she would tell us so, instead of exclaiming, "nimium desipitis, siquidem arbitramini me quid dixerim etiamnum meminisse, cum tantam verborum farraginem effuderim" (p. 194). Even if Screech were correct, her amnesia would be restricted to the last few minutes of her discourse; and ecstasies retain "in a cloudy and dreamy way" impressions of what has happened during their altered states, as Moria attests. Appending an epilogue would still not overtax her faculties. Being capricious, she has simply tired of her performance and wants to terminate it as hastily as possible. Her phrase "verborum farraginem" alludes to Juvenal's satires, 1, 86 of which contains the expression "nostri farrago libelli". Since Moria is harking back to Juvenal, whose satires

<sup>26</sup> *Ecstasy and The Praise of Folly*, p. 205.

<sup>27</sup> Cited by Miller, *Opera omnia*, IV, 3, p. 195, note to line 273, and by Screech, *Ecstasy and The Praise of Folly*, p. 211. For Screech, Lister's gloss is an attempt by Erasmus to defuse the Montanist bomb in Moria's anti-epilogue.

break off fragmentarily at 16, 60, she may well be encouraged by their incompleteness, having shared his indignation (“facit indignatio verum”, 1, 79) in decrying the fools she would gladly disown.

On account of her self-contradictions and what she misremembers, her oration contains three kinds of irony. The most prominent kind is Erasmus’ in having Moria champion what he and fellow intellectuals disdained, such as amorous codgers and crones (pp. 82 and 108-10), or disdain what he and his confreres championed, such as scholarship. That type of irony is concentrated in part one of the declamation. A second sort, found especially in section two, is Moria’s own, which some interpreters have not distinguished from Erasmus’. For example, in reference to her argument that she induces prudence (pp. 102-04), Rebhorn remarks, “In this process Stultitia begins with satire, criticizing through ironic praise the rashness and self-deception that underlie the fool’s ‘prudent’ deeds”<sup>28</sup>. Here, as usual, the irony in Moria’s praise belongs exclusively to Erasmus. In contrast to him, the goddess sincerely advocates impetuosity, like Machiavelli, who prefers it to circumspection for subduing Fortuna, in chapter 25 of *The Prince*. Whether Moria is lauding daredevils who rush in where angels fear to tread or Christians who commune with angels, she is normally forthright. Less often does she herself mean the opposite of what she utters, as when she allies herself with Nicolas de Lyra on p. 182. She likewise speaks of war as “res tam praeclara” on p. 96, and on p. 136 she elevates robbers to the rank of Pythagoreans convinced that property should be shared. On p. 154 she recommends dispatching Scotists and their squabbling ilk to down the infidels. She jests on p. 158 that theologians’ heads, being stuffed with trifles, would explode if they were not secured by the special caps which such accomplished worthies are privileged to wear. When she has referred to one of her more pretentious preachers as “quendam eximie stultum” on p. 164, she feigns a retraction, saying, “erravi, doctum volebam dicere”. With tongue in cheek she plays at deferring to the egotist’s conceit, which clashes with her own opinion of him. On p. 166 she describes the friars’ jokes in general as “plenus gratiarum” and “in loco”, like a donkey strumming a lyre. In examining the symbolism of a cardinal’s robe on p. 172, she asks about its copiousness, which suffices not only for the dignitary but also for his mule. Snidely she goes on to smirk that it would even engulf a camel. After

<sup>28</sup> “Structure and Meaning”, p. 466.

averring on the same page that pontifical parasites—the crowd which “Romanam sedem onerat”, or rather “honorat”—would starve if His Holiness were really holy, Moria interjects, as though she were Julius II, “inhumanum quidem hoc et abominandum facinus”. Extending her sarcasm, she gibes that something “multo magis detestandum” would be the pope’s own poverty. Subsequently (p. 186) she bestows the backhanded honorific “autor irrefragabilis” on a theologaster like Nicolas de Lyra. Still further instances of her satirical duplicity could also be cited, but this collection is large enough.

The third kind of irony in *The Praise of Folly* derives from Moria’s inadvertencies. Scholars have missed it entirely because of their reluctance to accept her inconsistency and to draw consequences from any of her unwitting errors. Since “people who live in glass houses should not throw stones”, vulnerable Moria ought to refrain from censure. By reproving her adherents for their deficiencies, she implies that she is impeccable, though she demonstrates instead that she is illogical. When she execrates the friars’ sermons, she forgets that she, for her own part, is anything but a meticulous orator. A comic contrast arises between what she thinks she is and what we discover her to be. Like the wisemen on pp. 92-94 who “non vident manticham in tergo pendentem” while they carp at their acquaintances, she fails to see herself as others see her. She knows that she is erratic, but she is not introspective enough to discern that at times she becomes her own worst enemy. Though she senses on p. 176 that in her speech’s midsection she has rattled off a diatribe rather than a eulogy, she remains unaware of the damage she has wrought. If we could tell her, when she steps from her podium, that berating her followers partially negates her celebration of fatuity, she would be shocked, for she is as deluded as they are. Her wonted jauntiness might yield to the petulance of Hjalmar Ekdal when he learns that his wife has misled him. We could console the goddess, however, by pointing out that self-contradictions and a life-lie are most appropriate for her. In order to be true to her giddy self, she has to be irrational. How can she realistically be “swept along at the whim of emotion” (as Miller translates “affectuum arbitrio moveri”)<sup>29</sup> yet never stumble, be she ever so superhuman? She needs not only fickleness but discrepancies, mental slips, self-deception, and almost any other weakness

<sup>29</sup> Miller (ed.), *The Praise of Folly*, p. 28.

which critics can expose in her encomium<sup>30</sup>. We do her a disservice by ignoring or playing down whatever is awry in the work. Its crowning paradox is that the worst flaw possible for Moria would be no flaw at all.

Erasmus entertained almost the same idea when he dedicated *The Praise of Folly* to Thomas More. Anticipating objections which the discourse indeed provoked, he sought to justify Moria, and his last-ditch defense of her is, “pulchrum esse a stulticia vituperari, quam cum loquentem fecerimus, decoro personae serviendum fuit”<sup>31</sup>. Miller misrepresents him by translating the phrase this way: “It is an honor to be insulted by Folly. Since I made her speak as my persona, I had to preserve decorum by making her speak appropriately”<sup>32</sup>. “Since I made her speak as my persona” is not synonymous with “quam cum loquentem fecerimus”, and “decorum” in Latin would be rendered better by “fitness”. Despite employing the English word “decorum” in his own translation, Hoyt Hudson came closer to the original. His version reads, “... it is a fine thing to be slandered by Folly. Since I have feigned her speaking, it was of course necessary to preserve decorum in her character”<sup>33</sup>. Erasmus meant that Moria ought to hold forth in a manner commensurate with her distinct, individual personality. Leonard Dean conveys that import unambiguously: “Since I have made believe that it is she who is speaking, it was of course necessary to maintain her character”<sup>34</sup>. No one should take umbrage if the consummate booby seems outrageous, for what she spouts must often be drivel, notwithstanding its bookishness. Smiling wryly, Erasmus would accordingly agree that nearly everything she says which is not intrinsically

<sup>30</sup> On p. 49 of “Erasmus as a Satirist” Douglas complains that she exhausts his patience, and at the end of the speech she confesses that she has been verbose. Whether she has been too much so, however, is a matter of taste. The only faults that could not be reckoned among her virtues would be those over which she exercises no control, like the duality of heaven. Pierre Mesnard, “Erasme et la conception dialectique de la Folie”, in E. Castelli (ed.), *L’Umanesimo e “la Follia”* (Roma, 1971), p. 54, notes that Moria’s entourage (p. 78 in *Opera omnia*, IV, 3) seems to slip away during the final third of the address: “on peut croire qu’il [ce cortège] a été fatigué d’entendre le récit de toutes les sottises humaines ...”. We can readily picture creatures like Philautia and Kolakia—last mentioned on p. 140 of *Opera omnia*, IV, 3—blanching at the excoriation of their darlings.

<sup>31</sup> *Opera omnia*, IV, 3, pp. 69-70.

<sup>32</sup> Miller (ed.), *The Praise of Folly*, p. 5.

<sup>33</sup> Hudson (ed.), *The Praise of Folly*, p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> Dean (ed.), *The Praise of Folly* (New York, 1952), p. 39.



right can still be right for her to say. In *The Praise of Folly* he was well insured against accidents.

University of Virginia  
Dept. of Germanic Languages and Literatures  
Charlottesville, Va. 22903

Harry VREDEVELD

## TRACES OF ERASMUS' POETRY IN THE WORK OF HELIUS EOBANUS HESSUS

Erasmus' poems, technically impeccable but rarely moving, the work of a *poeta doctus* who, as he matured, considered himself less and less a poet, were nevertheless by dint of his towering reputation widely read, admired, and...imitated. As Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler perceptively observes, they influenced the Neo-Latin poets to a far greater extent than one tends to suppose<sup>1</sup>. Certainly this holds true for Erasmus' younger contemporary, Helius Eobanus Hessus, who revered the great man so profoundly that in 1518 he made the journey from Erfurt to Louvain to see him in person. It proved to be an occasion for much mutual praise, Erasmus complimenting Eobanus as an "Ovidius Christianus" and Eobanus lauding the Dutchman as "Germanae lux unica et ultima famae", divinely inspired, a god, the greatest genius of the age, of whom fortunate Holland would evermore be as proud as Arpinum and Rome are of their son Cicero<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Introd., Erasmus von Rotterdam, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. Werner Welzig, II (Darmstadt, 1975), xxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> For Erasmus' compliment see P.S. Allen, ed., *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, III (Oxford, 1913), 411 f.; for Eobanus' effusive praise see his *A profectio ad Des. Erasmus Roterodamum Hodoeporicon* (Erfurt, n.d. [1519]), fol. A2<sup>v</sup>-A3<sup>r</sup>:

Iam mare, iam terras, iam sidera pene domumque  
Implerat fama aetheream vir maximus huius  
45 Temporis ingenio quo nec facundior alter  
Legiferas Christi coluit, nec doctior, aras,  
Nomine iam reliquis, iam se quoque maior Erasmus,  
Quo tantum foelix Hollandia floret alumno  
Florebitque suo quantum Cicerone superbit  
50 Arpinum vetus et magnae pars maxima Romae.  
Huius...eximias coelesti a pectore dotes  
Divinumque animi lumen miratus amabam  
Non secus ac coelo demissum quicquid ab illo  
Fluxerat, ... mentes hominum de sordibus istis  
55 Ad superas animare domos quoddamque videbam  
Numen inesse viro....

See further: fol. B6<sup>v</sup>: "doctissime Erasme, / Tu mihi iamdudum numinis instar eras"; and, for the words "Germanae lux unica et ultima famae", fol. C2<sup>r</sup>.

The following notes, which make no claim to completeness, are intended to outline how and where Erasmus' poetry influenced Eobanus'. That, of course, can be a tricky matter indeed, especially where isolated verbal parallels are concerned. What might seem at first to be an evident borrowing can turn out later to be mere coincidence of phrasing, a stock expression, or dependence on a common source. To take an example: the half-line "...tristi quem funere mersum" occurs both in Erasmus' epyllion on the harrowing of hell (carm. 21, 289 in Reedijk's edition)<sup>3</sup> and in Eobanus' *Victoria Christi ab inferis* (1517), line 465<sup>4</sup>. An obvious borrowing on Eobanus' part, you say? Not at all: Erasmus' poem, while written around 1489, was not published until the early 1700s, in the Leiden edition. The coincidence of phrasing here is most likely due to the poets' use of common models; compare Claudian, *De bello Gildonico* 1,410: "...tanto quem funere mersit"; Vergil, *Aen.* 11,28 (6,429): "...[quem] funere mersit acerbo"; Lucretius 3,72: "...gaudent in tristi funere fratris". Or consider the striking phrase "sacro...fonte renati" which we find in Erasmus, *carm.* 94,26, as well as in Eobanus, *Heroidum Christianarum Epistolae* (1514), letter "Alcione Georgio", line 59. Yet here too we cannot speak of dependence one way or the other. The verse tag "fonte rena(sci)" has been formulaic since Juvenecus 2,193, as a glance at Schumann's *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon* (LHL), vol. 2, p. 325f., will confirm. And among the numerous instances cited there we shall also discover Hrabanus Maurus' formulation, *carm.* 97,3: "...sacro fonte renatus"<sup>5</sup>. Only careful and conscien-

<sup>3</sup> C. Reedijk, ed., *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus* (Leiden, 1956). All subsequent references to Erasmus' poetry are based on this edition.

<sup>4</sup> References to Eobanus' works by book, poem, and line numbers are based on my forthcoming edition of his *Dichtungen*, Ausgaben Deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts.

<sup>5</sup> A similar case is the parallelism between Erasmus, *carm.* 9,84 and Eobanus, *Epicedia* 5,40. Both have the hemistich "...lilia mixta rosis". But *carm.* 9, like *carm.* 21, was not published until the seventeenth century, in the Leiden edition. Here too the expression is formulaic. See Otto Schumann, *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon. Dichterisches Formelgut von Ennius bis zum Archipoeta*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Hilfsmittel 4 (München, 1979ff.), III,197. Erasmus' line, "Candida purpureis lilia mixta rosis", is also found in Landinus, *carm.* 5,40; Mantuanus, *Epigrammata ad Falconem* (*Opera*, Paris, 1513, vol. 2, fol. 143<sup>v</sup>); Murmellius, *Elegiae morales* 1,17,16; cf. also Dantiscus, *carm.* 42,2,622: "Lilia purpureis candida mixta rosis".

Likewise the phrase "viridis...flore iuventae" of Erasmus, *carm.* 10,5, Eobanus, *Elegiae tres de schola Norica* (1526) 2,55, and *Heroides* 1,6,189f. (revised edition, 1532/39), goes back to a common source, Statius, *silv.* 1,2,276: "longe viridis [*al.*: virides] sic flore iuventae / perdurent vultus...".

tious searching through the poetic tradition as known to Erasmus and his contemporaries can offer us a measure of protection against the sort of pitfalls I have just described.

We shall look first at the purely verbal parallels—parallels in Eobanus' poetry for which Erasmus' influence can be credibly held responsible. After this we shall review some reminiscences of Erasmian motifs and ideas, without accompanying verbal parallels, and finally discuss cases where Eobanus borrows both the motif and the language from Erasmus or imitates and varies an Erasmian poem.

### I. Isolated verbal parallels

a) *Carm. 10* (first published in various editions of the *Adagia-Epigrammata*, since 1506/07; also in the *Epigrammata* of 1518). *Carm. 10,7* "...sine coniuge coniunx" is borrowed in Eobanus' *Heroides* (1514), letter "Sabina Alexio", fol. 28<sup>v</sup> (in the revised edition of 1532/39: 3,5,29). The phrase is a variation of the common verse tag "...coniuge coniunx" (see *LHL* 1,424f.).

b) *Carm. 16* (an epigram first published in 1503 and regularly prefixed to the *Enchiridion militis christiani*). The first distich, "Nil moror aut laudes, levis aut convicia vulgi, / Pulchrum est vel doctis, vel placuisse piis", seems to have been the model for Eobanus, *Heroides*, letter "Kunegundis Henrico", fol. 33<sup>v</sup>: "Non ego vana levis timeo ludibria vulgi, / Sed tibi quod potui displicuisse dolet". The parallel is much more apparent in the revised edition of 1532/39, where the hexameter has been changed to read: "Non quia vana levis metuam convicia vulgi" (3,3,107). Compare also *De vera nobilitate* (1515), line 331: "vana levis ...commercium vulgi"; and *De tumultibus horum temporum* (1528), dedicatio 11: "...vana levis vitans ludibria vulgi". The tag "convicia vulgi" derives from Lucan. 9,187.

The association of Christ with Apollo, made in line 5 of the epigram, may have emboldened Eobanus to coin the phrase "Christus Apollo" and use it, among other instances, also in a verse epistle to Erasmus (*Hodoeporicon*, 1519, fol. c2<sup>r</sup> = *Sylvae* 3,8,95): "Nunc etiam his terris cum saeviat improba pestis / Servavit vatem Christus Apollo suum".

It should be pointed out however that the identification Christ-Apollo recurs medieval literature.

c) *Carm. 23* (first published in 1513; reprinted in 1521, 1528, and 1529). Line 32 "...nil bonitatis habent" reappears, in slightly modified form,

in Eobanus, *Bonae valetudinis conservandae praecepta* (1524), fol. C<sup>v</sup> (in the revised edition of 1531/39, line 386): “mensarum gloria pavo / Plus lauti et nitidi quam bonitatis habet”; and in his *Salomonis Ecclesiastes* (1532), fol. A8<sup>r</sup>: “Omnia sydereo quae lustrat lumine Phoebus / Plus nimio vani quàm bonitatis habent”. Compare, however, Petrus Riga, *Aurora*, Leviticus 114: “Nam multis quedam virtutes esse videntur / Que nil virtutis nec bonitatis habent”; and Locher, *Stultifera navis* (n.p., n.d.), fol. 75<sup>v</sup>: “Nil bonitatis habent...”.

d) *Carm.* 24 (printed with *carm.* 23). Eobanus borrowed from *carm.* 24,3 “Longaevae numerans...tempora vitae” on several occasions: in the revised edition of the *Heroides* (1532/39), 1,6,65: “...longaevae numero mala tempora vitae”; in *Salomonis Ecclesiastes*, fol. C2<sup>v</sup>: “Et numeret vitae tempora multa suae”; and in a distich accompanying the poet's likeness in *De victoria Wirtembergensi* (1534), fol. D4<sup>v</sup>: “Lustra novem numerans Eobanus tempora vitae”.

Line 7 “...dum fata sinant, dum floreat aetas” may well have helped shape *Heroides*, fol. 42<sup>r</sup> (revised edition: 3,4,165): “...dum laeta viret, dum pullulat aetas” (though cf. Vergil, *georg.* 3,63: “...dum laeta iuventas”; and [Cyprian] *carm.* 6, 161: “...hinc omnis pullulat aetas”).

The hemistich “...curva senecta gradu” of line 56 is found also in Eobanus' *Medicinae encomion* (published with the precepts on keeping in health), fol. E3<sup>v</sup> (line 138 in the revised edition) as well as in his *Venus triumphans* (1527), poem “In nuptiis Ioachimi Camerarii Qu[aestoris] ludus Musarum seu epithalamium”, line 248. Dependence on Erasmus however cannot be taken for granted as the halfline (a variation on Ovid, *ars am.* 2,670 [Lygdamus 3,5,16]: “...curva senecta pede” and Ovid, *met.* 14,143: “tremuloque gradu venit aegra senectus”) recurs in Renaissance poetry: Andrelinus, *Livia* 1,3,20; Hieronymus Balbus, *carm.* 1,754; Celtis, *Amores* 4,3,32; Murmellius, *Elegiae morales* 4,1,60; Tito Strozzi, *Eroticon* 1,3,60.

Line 88 “...cum genitore puer” is the probable model for *Heroides*, fol. 57<sup>r</sup> (revised edition: 2,3,154): “Cum puero genitor, cum genitore nepos”.

e) *Carm.* 29 (first published in the *Adagia-Epigrammata* of 1506/07). The phrase “triplici discrimine” which occurs in line 23 of this poem as well as in *carm.* 131,5 (published in 1532) is used in line 51 of the dedication of the *Heroides* (revised version, 1532/39).

f) *Carm.* 31 (published with *carm.* 29). The expression “ingeniosa manus” in line 6 is echoed in *Heroides*, fol. 103<sup>r</sup> (in the revised edition: 3,9,19): “...Choi manus ingeniosa magistri”. In both cases a painter’s hand is meant. It should be noted however that the phrase is found also in John of Salisbury, *Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum* 1334: “quia mentem / Auctoris sequitur ingeniosa manus”.

g) *Carm.* 33 (first published in 1496 and often thereafter). This poem—it praises the lowly hovel in which Jesus was born—was heavily mined by Eobanus, both for phrasing and motifs, as we shall see later on. Here we might note that the phrase “Solomonica templa” of line 12 also occurs in the *Heroides*, fol. 59<sup>r</sup> (in the revised edition: 3,7,73), in the same metrical position. As a verse tag it also occurs in Pico della Mirandola, *Staurostichon* (fol. 11<sup>v</sup> in the Tübingen edition of 1512) and Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice Mariana* 3,233.

h) *Carm.* 39 (printed together with *carm.* 33, in 1496; also in the *Adagia-Epigrammata* of 1506/07 and in the *Epigrammata* of 1518). The words “viridis...in margine ripae” in the first line reappear in identical form and metrical position in Eobanus, *Bucolicorum Idyllia* (1528/39), 7,50: “...viridis pascentem in margine ripae”. Compare however Andrelinus, *Bucol.* 5,2: “Sederunt viridi fluvialis margine ripae”; Pontanus, *Urania* 2 (in *Pontani opera*, Venice, 1513, fol. 39<sup>v</sup>): “...viridisque in margine ripae”; and Schumann, *LHL* 3,290, “margine rip(ae)”, in particular Ovid, *met.* 1,729: “...in margine ripae”.

Line 47 “...tigresque luposque” has found its way into the *Heroides*, letter “Maria Ioanni”, fol. 67<sup>r</sup> (revised edition: 1,4,45): “Nata feris, pavisse feras tigresque luposque, / Non potui casto pascere lacte deum”.

i) *Carm.* 45 (printed with the *Adagia*, 1500, 1505, 1506/07, and elsewhere; also in the *Epigrammata*, 1518). Line 15 of this poem in praise of Great Britain reads: “Foeta viris, foecunda feris, foecunda metallis”. Eobanus seems to have had this line in his ear when he wrote the similarly structured hexameter in praise of Nuremberg, *Buc. Idyllia* (1528/39), 16,36: “Dives opum, foecunda viris, pulcherrima cultu”. Cf. also *Sylvae* 2,4,21: “Plena viris, ducibusque potens, animosa tyrannis”.

“Palladias...artes” in line 131 is a memorable phrase adopted by Eobanus in *Epicedia* 2,13: “Iam tua Palladias clarissima fama per arteis”. (Compare Propertius 3,9,42: “Palladiae...artis equus”; and Martial 6,13,2: “Palladiae...artis opus”).

j) *Carm.* 83 (the famous “Carmen de senectute” or “Carmen Alpestre”, first published in 1507). Line 11, “Corporis epotet succos animique vigorem / Hebetet”, is used in Eobanus, *Bonae valetudinis conservandae praecepta*, fol. A4<sup>r</sup> (revised edition: line 145), to describe the effects of drunkenness: “Corporis exhaurit succos animique vigorem / Opprimet”. There is a similar line in the *Sylvae*, 2,2,39 (also on drunkenness): “Ingenii exhaurit vires animique vigorem”; this is paraphrased in *Sylvae* 2,2,41f.: “Corporis enervat robur succumque iuventae / Exprimit”. (Compare also Josse Bade [Badius Ascensius], *Stultiferae naves*, Paris, 1500, reprinted Grenoble, 1979, fol. C5<sup>v</sup> = p. 60: “Quid gula dulce parit, quae mentem effoeminet atque / Corporis enervat vires...”.)

In lines 83-84 Erasmus compares the flight of youth to that of a dream which flies away when we awaken: “Sic sic effugiunt tacitae vaga somnia noctis / Simul avolante somno”. It is a traditional image, found for instance also in [Theocritus] Idyll 27,8: ... τάχα γάρ σε παρέρχεται ὥς ὄναρ ἥβη (“... swiftly your youth flies by, like a dream”). When Eobanus came to translate this line in his *Theocriti Idyllia* (1531) he evidently remembered Erasmus’ verses, for on fol. N4<sup>r</sup> he writes: “Quàm cito discussa vaga somnia nocte feruntur, / ... / ...tam flos cadit ille iuventae”.

From line 93 Eobanus in the *Heroides* 1,5,27 (revised edition only) took the first hemistich: “Blandaue mellifluae cedat tibi gratia linguae”. In the editio princeps of 1514, fol. 84<sup>r</sup>, we find “florentis” in place of the later “mellifluae”.

Erasmus’ resolution in line 221, “Huic [i.e., Christo] saltem pars deterior breviorque dicetur”, is echoed by Eobanus’ Maria Aegyptiaca in *Heroides* 3,7,50 (in the first edition, fol. M2<sup>v</sup>): “Prima sed heu nimium [cf. *carm.* 83,177!] iuveniliter acta iuventa est; / Pars vitae brevior sola dicata deo est”.

From line 225 Eobanus borrowed the phrase “decreta ...sophorum” for his *Medicinae encomion*, fol. E2<sup>r</sup> (line 61 in the revised edition).

k) *Carm.* 85 (printed 1511?, 1512, 1513, and later). “...coelique solique monarcha” in line 19 appears to be the model for Eobanus, *Heroides*, letter “Elisabeth Zachariae”, fol. 89<sup>v</sup> (not in the revised edition): “...rerumque pater mundique monarcha”.

## II. Reminiscences of Erasmian motifs and ideas

a) *Carm.* 35 (published 1496, with *carm.* 33; also 1503, 1509, and later). This ode on the archangel Gabriel offers the interesting motif that the angel at the Annunciation bore an olive branch, the symbol of peace (lines 57-60):

Noster o salve bone pacifer, qui  
Surculum adportans oleae virentem  
Nuncias primus<sup>6</sup> meliora mersis  
Secula terris.

Gabriel is here seen as the herald of the Prince of Peace, a role which he also plays in certain hymns of the church<sup>7</sup>. The motif of his bearing an olive branch (instead of the usual herald's staff, lily, or palm branch) ultimately derives from the fourteenth-century painters of Siena: Simone Martini, Taddeo Bartolo, and Francesco di Giorgio<sup>8</sup>. To my knowledge the literary use of this motif is so rare that we may assume that its occurrence also in Eobanus' *Heroides* has come about through Erasmus' mediation. In the epistle "Maria Emmanueli", fol. 7<sup>r</sup> (revised edition: 1,2,58) he says of the archangel entering Mary's locked chamber: "...in dextra pacis oliva fuit".

b) *Carm.* 39 (published in 1496 and later; also in the *Epigrammata* of 1518). Lines 51-52 assert that Andrelinus' moral eclogues will not offend the pious ear with talk about impure love: "Nusquam hic formosum Corydon ardebit Alexin, / Phyllis toto in carmine nulla". The very same thought was applied by Ioannes Gallinarius Budorinus to Mantuan's eclogues in the title poem to the Tübingen edition of 1515: "Non hic lascivum Corydonis laudat Alexim, / Pagina nocturnos nec docet ista dolos". Eobanus too, whether from the one or the other or both, adopts the assertion to describe his own pastoral work, the *Bucolicorum Idyllia* of 1528. In its dedicatory epistle, lines 69-70, he gives Erasmus' lines a twist: "Non tamen hic aliquem frustra cantamus Alexim: / Igne puellari carmina nostra calent".

<sup>6</sup> Reedijk writes *primum*, but this is a misprint.

<sup>7</sup> See for example *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. Clemens Blume and Guido M. Dreves (Leipzig, 1886ff.), XVIII, 73-77.

<sup>8</sup> See Louis Réau, *Iconographie de la Bible, II. Nouveau Testament*, Vol. II of *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1957), p. 183f.



c) *Appendix I, carm. 2* (first published in the *Colloquia* of September, 1524, towards the end of an epithalamium for Peter Gillis and his bride Cornelia Sanders). The newlyweds are praised by the nine Muses who use a variety of lyrical meters. This idea is taken over by Eobanus in his marriage song for his friend Joachim Camerarius, "Ludus Musarum seu epithalamium", fol. b3<sup>v</sup>-c2<sup>r</sup> of *Venus triumphans* (1527). Here, as in Erasmus' colloquy, the Muses' verses are embedded in a dialogue. In the colloquy it is a dialogue between Alypius and the Muses who, together with the three Graces, are on their way to the wedding in Antwerp; in Eobanus' playlet it is Mercury and Venus whose words frame the Graces' and the Muses' songs at the wedding in Nuremberg. As in Erasmus' epithalamium, each of the Muses in the "Ludus Musarum" sings to the happy couple in a different metre. The order in which the Muses appear in each work and the metre which each is assigned correspond to some extent. The first Muse—in Erasmus it is Clio, in Eobanus it is Calliope—uses the elegiac distich; the sixth Muse—Erato in both cases—is given the sapphic strophe. Urania and Polyhymnia conclude the series in both works, but the metres they employ do not coincide. Compared to Erasmus' rather terse Muses, Eobanus' are effusive and long-winded. Still, the effect is pretty much the same: a striking and appropriate variation on the standard epithalamium-form, appropriate, because both bridegrooms were humanists, students of the classical Muse.

### III. Borrowings in context and variations on a theme

a) *Carm. 33*, "Carmen de casa natalicia Iesu ac paupere puerperio dive virginis Marie lyricum" (1496 and often). The source for Eobanus' heroical epistle "Paula Hieronymo" (*Heroides*, fol. 91<sup>r</sup>-96<sup>r</sup>; in the revised edition: 2,2) is by and large St. Jerome's "Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae" (*epist.* 108). There Eobanus could find the details of Paula's life, her voyage to the Holy Land and to Bethlehem, the birthplace of Christ. In the heroical epistle Paula writes St. Jerome to tell him that she is on her way to see him in Bethlehem. She longs to see him and looks forward to visiting the place of the nativity. Where St. Jerome, however, in the older, eastern tradition, writes of Christ's birthplace as being a cave, Eobanus, in the western tradition, has Paula imagine a stable, a lowly hut—precisely the sort of hovel which Erasmus had described in his "carmen de casa natalicia Iesu". It is a humble, tattered, thatched cottage:

*carm. 33,3**Heroides, fol. 95<sup>v</sup> (= 2,2,199f.)*

Haec casa, quae lacera et stat agrestibus  
horrida culmis<sup>9</sup>.

Qua stetit illa frequens et agrestibus  
horrida culmis / Quae casa nascentem  
vidit in orbe deum.

A lowly hovel it is, but ennobled by the birth of Christ :

*carm. 33,6-9**Heroides, fol. 95<sup>v</sup> (= 2,2,205-07)*

Hic cuius tonitru tellusque tremiscit et  
aether / Teneris crepat vagitibus; / Hic  
orbis magni moderator maximus infans  
/ Virginea mulget ubera<sup>10</sup>.

Istic angelici natum cecinere choraules,  
/ Hic infans geminum vagiit ante pecus,  
/ Hic tria donarunt sapientes munera  
Persae.

That is why neither Erasmus nor Paula would exchange it for the Palace  
in Rome. It is more magnificent even than the temple of Capitoline Jove :

*carm. 33,10f. and 16f.**Heroides, fol. 95<sup>v</sup> (= 2,2,201f.)*

His ego non stabulis augusta palatia  
Romae<sup>11</sup> / Feliciora iudicem / [...] /  
Iure tibi Iovis invadeant Capitolia falsi, /  
Divis superba saxeis.

Huic ego nec veteris celebrata Palatia  
Rhomaee / Praetulerim et Latio templa  
superba Iove.

If Paula had her wish, she too would live in such a hut as Erasmus  
describes, open to the rain and the winds :

*carm. 33,20f.**Heroides, fol. 96<sup>r</sup> (= 2,2,217f.)*

hiantibus undique rimis / Imbres et  
Euros accipis.

tuguri ducentia rimas / Limina et  
insanis pervia septa Notis.

b) *Carm. 84* (printed half a dozen times between 1511 and 1515 alone).  
This is a mock-epitaph on a lifelong tippler who died in his cups :

<sup>9</sup> This description is modelled, in part, on Vergil's line about the *Casa Romuli* on the Palatine, *Aen.* 8,348: "...olim silvestribus horrida dumis".

<sup>10</sup> The mighty Lord of all creation as a squalling infant is an old paradox: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *carm.* 2,2,13: "[orbis conditor] Vagit infans inter arta conditus praesepeia"; Hrabanus Maurus (?), *hymn.* 2,8 (MGH Poetae 2): "Palmo caelum qui metitur, / terram claudit pugili, / pannis paucis obvolutus, / infans vagit parvulus". Erasmus' lines are imitated also by Euricius Cordus, "In natalem Christi hymnus" (*Delitiae Poetarum Germanorum* II,693): "Qui quassum tonitru concutit aethera, / In praesepe locatus, / Infans vagit homuncio".

<sup>11</sup> The tag "...palatia Romae" is found, in a similar context, also in a letter of Mutian Rufus to Urban, Nr. 56 (Gilbert), Gotha 1505/07: "Ipse enim genitor rerum, moderator Olympi, / Dum peteret terras, non alta palatia Rome, / Ast adiit servile genus stabulumque pudicum"; cf. also Eobanus, *De tumultibus horum temporum* (1528) 6,23 (Cicero speaking): "Heu ubi prisca meae bene culta palatia Romae? / Heu ubi Aventinae templa superba deae?"; *Divo ac invicto imp. Caes. Carolo. V. Augusto Germaniam ingredienti Urbis Norimbergae gratulatoria acclamatio* 2,225 (of Constantinople): "novae...palatia Romae".

*Epitaphium scurrulae temulenti, scazon*

Pax sit, viator, tacitus hos legas versus,  
 Ut sacra verba mussitant sacerdotes,  
 Ne mihi suavem strepitus auferat somnum,  
 Repetatque vigiles ilico sitis fauces.  
 5 Nam scurrula hocce sterto conditus saxo,  
 Quondam ille magni clarus Euii mystes,  
 Ut qui bis octo lustra perbibit tota,  
 Oculis profundus deinde somnus obrepsit,  
 Ut fit, benigno membra cum madent Baccho.  
 10 Atque ita peractis suaviter bonis annis,  
 Idem bibendi finis atque vivendi  
 Fuit. Sed etiam me aliquis ebrium credat,  
 Aut somniare, qui ista dormiens dicam.  
 Vale viator, iam silenter abscede.

The poem is imitated and varied by Eobanus in two mock-epitaphs published together with his *Hymnus paschalis* (1515), fol. B2<sup>v</sup>-B3<sup>v</sup>. The first one is for a wealthy miser. Its title and motifs are strongly reminiscent of Erasmus' poem. Its metre is the same : choliambics.

Divitis Avari Epithaphium

Scazon.

Procul viator ista lecturus stato  
 Ne forte pallio auferas partem saxi  
 Vel spiritu inde pulverem tuo spires  
 Qui tot collectus annis auget hoc bustum.  
 5 Nam dives hic avarus et tamen pauper  
 Inopem et molestam dormio miser noctem,  
 Nam quod labore inediaque quaesitum  
 Aurum recondidi mali aegerunt fures  
 Spuriique pessimi, malique cognati  
 10 Male istud helluantur et meos manes  
 Ultro laccessunt polluantque tumbetum<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The word seems to be a neologism formed from *tumba* and the suffix *-etum*; cf. Catullus 59,2 *sepulcretum*. The meaning of the word must be "grave", "tomb", "burial place".

Scaenoque<sup>13</sup> olente lotioque deformi,  
 Canem vocantes Euclione peiorem  
 Cynicoque quodam cuius excidit nomen.  
 15 At ipse habere somnio aureos montes  
 Et abditos latere ubique thesauros.  
 Precor viator ista dixeris nulli  
 Ne somniando qua fruor voluptatem  
 Aliquis furetur hocque dormiam peius.

In both Erasmus' and Eobanus' poem the dead man addresses the passerby and asks him not to disturb his sleep or dreams. Verbal parallels underscore Eobanus' dependence on the Erasmian model. In both poems the word "viator" occurs in line one, in the same metrical position; the phrase "Ne...auferat" in the third line of Erasmus' poem is paralleled in line two of Eobanus': "Ne...auferas". The reason for the request is in each case introduced in the fifth line by "Nam". Both mock-epitaphs conclude with an apostrophe to the wayfarer: he is to depart in silence (Erasmus) or remain silent about what he has learned here (Eobanus).

The second of Eobanus' variations on Erasmus' poem is a pendant to the first: it is the epitaph of a spendthrift drunkard who died young:

Adulescentis Prodigii et Ebriosi  
 Epithaphium, Phaetium

Heus tu quo properas viator? adsta  
 Et nil perstrepe, sed vide silenter  
 Rubro carmina scripta porphyrete.  
 Hic somno simul et mero sepulti  
 5 Potoris iacet umbra Symphiloeni  
 Annis qui patre mortuo duobus  
 Agros, horrea, tecta, prata, villas,  
 Hortos, praedia, rura, iura, fundos,

<sup>13</sup> The spelling *scaeno* for *caeno* (*coeno*) occurs also in Eobanus, *Urbs Noriberga* 380, where we find *scenosa* for *cenosa* (*caenosa*): "[Non pisces] Qui limum turpisque trahunt scenosa fimeti / Pabula, sed vivi gaudentes fluminis unda". The unusual form may be owing to a confusion with *schoenus*, perhaps by way of Plautus, *Poen.* 267 *schoeno delibutas*, where others read *coeno* (*caeno*) *delibutas*.

Centum milia iugerum patentes,  
 10 Centum auri gravipensilis talenta,  
 Sexcentos veteris cados phalerni,  
 Centum milia totque doliorum  
 Uno gutture devoravit. Inde  
 Haustu dum bibit ultimo quievit,  
 15 Praecavisse sitim ratus futuram.  
 Suspenso hunc pede praeteri viator  
 Ne, si senserit, impetu resumpto  
 Vicinam voret ebrius tabernam.

Though the metre in this poem is different—it is written in hendecasyllables—the structure is essentially the same as in Erasmus' mock-epitaph: an apostrophe to the passerby at the beginning and end, with the request that he make no noise lest he awaken the sleeper, and a middle section devoted to a description of the man's life-style before death overtook him. Unlike Erasmus' poem, however, this epitaph is written in the third person: its drunkard is too deeply buried in sleep and drink to dream of the world above him. Too, Eobanus has intensified the comic aspect of the inscription by foreshortening the dead man's age. This omnivore, as Eobanus describes him, has devoured more in two years than Erasmus' tippler in eighty. The danger of his being awakened is correspondingly greater—he might devour the nearby tavern if you don't watch out! Here Erasmus' restrained humor, his irony, gives way to grotesque exaggeration and outright burlesque.

*The Ohio State University*  
*Dept. of German*

John R. C. MARTYN

## IOANNES SECUNDUS : ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE

One of Secundus' most successful *Eclogues* is his version of the Orpheus story, and yet it seems to have been ignored by almost every scholar working either on Secundus<sup>1</sup> or on the Orpheus theme<sup>2</sup>. Its location in Secundus' *Silvarum Liber* may have led to its being overlooked, but it deserved to be picked out for special treatment. Below is a modern version of the original Latin, from the 1541 Utrecht edition of his *Opera*, together with my translation, the first, it seems :

### ORPHEUS – *Ecloga*

Orphea Threicium Lycidas, patrem Orphea vatum,  
amissa viduum bis coniuge, sola per antra  
maerentem, vocesque trahentem pectore ab imo  
ferales, et fracta gravi nemora avia questu,  
5 infelix cecinit desertis pastor ab antris,  
formosi pecoris lanaeque oblitus et herbae  
surgentis vario per mollia prata colore,  
et canis et mulctrae, sed non oblitus amorum  
quos illi, placidis assueto semper in agris

<sup>1</sup> It gets a paragraph or so in G. Schoolfield's recent study of Secundus (Boston, 1980), p. 131, and in L. Grant's *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral* (Univ. N. Carolina Press, 1965), pp. 177-8, and a brief mention in G. Ellinger's *Geschichte der neulateinischen Lyrik in den Niederlanden* (Berlin, 1933), Vol. iii.1, pp. 61-2, but in no case is there a proper literary or linguistic analysis, and it is not mentioned at all by F.J. Nichols *An Anthology of Neo-Latin Poetry* (Yale U.P., 1979), I.D. McFarlane *Renaissance Latin Poetry* (Manchester U.P., 1980), A. Perosa & J. Sparrow *Renaissance Latin Verse* (London, 1979), J. IJsewijn *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (Amsterdam, 1977), G. Highet *The Classical Tradition* (Oxford O.P., 1967<sup>3</sup>) and F.A. Wright & T.A. Sinclair *A History of Later Latin Literature* (London, 1969<sup>2</sup>), nor by any contributor to the *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis* (1973), *Turonensis* (1976) or *Amstelodamensis* (1979), despite regular references to Secundus, his *Basia* and his *Epithalamium*. His *Silvarum Liber*

*ORPHEUS – Eclogue*

Lycidas sang of Thracian Orpheus, father of poetry,  
 twice widowed by his wife's loss, grieving in lonely caves,  
 and drawing mournful words from deep in his breast.  
 He sang of the pathless woods broken by Orpheus' heavy lament,  
 5 Lycidas, unhappy shepherd, singing in deserted caves,  
 forgetting his attractive flock and its wool, and the grass  
 that was rising through the soft meadows with varied colours,  
 forgetting his dog and his milk-pail; but not forgetting the love  
 which had been aroused in him, accustomed always to yield

seems also to have been omitted by translators of Secundus, like M. Rat (Paris, 1938) and F. A. Wright (New York, 1930).

<sup>2</sup> The latest, edited by John Warden, *Orpheus: The Metamorphosis of a Myth* (Univ. Toronto Pr., 1982), contains no reference to Secundus at all. Nor do N. Pirrotta & E. Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi* tr. K. Eales (Cambridge U.P., 1982), although Secundus' *Orpheus* was published 66 years before Monteverdi composed his *Orfeo* (in 1607). Françoise Jouvovsky, *Orphée et ses disciples dans la poésie Française et Néo-Latine du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Genève, 1970), pp. 20-1, does see Secundus as "un autre Orphée" (*Odes* I 5 ff.), most interested in the Orpheus myth, as in *Elegies* III.1.1-9 and *Odes* VII.1 ff., where he "décrit la douleur d'Orphée à la mort d'Eurydice", and yet she ignores the *Eclogue*.

- 10 nympharum cupidis amplexibus indulgere,  
 moverat, heu, glaucisque oculis flavoque capillo  
 astuque fastuque valens, urbana Neaera,  
 intactam Veneris praecellens alba columbam  
 et canum Veneris florem, gelidaeque Pyrenes  
 15 vicinas candore nives et frigore vincens,  
 et cannis pueri et magno male digna furore.  
 Illum deserti montes et frigida saxa,  
 montibus et qui desertis gelidisque feroces  
 in saxis stabulant ursi, gemuere gementem,  
 20 Getulaeque procul suspiravere leaenae,  
 notaque nutarunt intonsae ad carmina quercus;  
 annosae quercus et luctiferae cupressi  
 lugentem circumstabant. Ast optima mater  
 ad tristes excita modos stupuitque sonantem  
 25 Calliope dixitque : “Meus num forsitan istis  
 natus inest silvis et bis remeare sub auras  
 evaluit, Ditemque novo modulamine vicit?  
 Tergeminique canis compescuit ora canendo  
 en iterum?” Nec plura; ruens petit oscula falsi  
 30 infelix nati. Mox spe deiecta, suave  
 erubuit. Tamen et puero se iunxit, et una  
 divinam citharam digitis tentavit eburnis,  
 maestaque suffecit lacrimas et verba canenti :  
 “Ergo cum fugeres iuvenem, castissima coniunx,  
 35 vesanum, virusque invito afflaret ab ore  
 tabificus serpens, non sufficebat ad Orcum  
 ire semel, vitamque tuis exsolvere fatis  
 innocuam, aut lacrimas impendi in funere parcas,  
 cara, tuo, nisi te, nisi te, carissima coniunx,  
 40 ipse retorquerem sub iniqui iura tyranni  
 lethiferis demens oculis, luctumque pararem  
 ipse alium sine fine mihi. Me mitior anguis  
 ille fuit, diri tantum malus ultor amoris.  
 Ereptam sceleri te reddidit ille marito;  
 45 ipse ego te mihi, te rapui; tu flebilis inter  
 excidis amplexus, damnosae lumina longe  
 rapta fugis. Quo dulcis abis? Iam te negat ipse  
 portitor illacrimans iterum transmittere cumba.



- 10 to the nymphs' passionate embraces in the peaceful fields,  
 aroused by the sophisticated Neaera, alas, by the charm  
 of her grey eyes and golden hair, her astuteness and haughtiness,  
 and her fair skin, whiter than Venus' virgin dove,  
 or Venus' pale flower, surpassing in beauty and coldness  
 15 the neighbouring snowfields of the icy Pyrennees,  
 unworthy of a young man's flute and strong desires.  
 As he groaned, the deserted mountains and icy crags,  
 and ferocious bears that had their lairs among the  
 deserted mountains and icy crags, groaned for him,  
 20 while Gaetulian lionesses sighed from afar.  
 Untrimmed oak-trees nodded to the well-known songs,  
 and ancient oaks and melancholy cypresses  
 stood around him as he mourned. But Orpheus' noble mother,  
 Calliope, roused by these sad songs, wondered at  
 25 his lament, and said: "Is my son perhaps in these  
 woods? Surely he was not able to return twice  
 to the upper world, defeating Pluto with a new melody?  
 Did he again restrain the mouths of the three-headed dog  
 with his singing?" Saying no more, she hastily sought,  
 30 poor woman, her false son's kiss. Soon, giving up hope,  
 she blushed sweetly. And yet she did join the boy,  
 and with him tried the divine lute with her ivory fingers,  
 and sadly provided tears and words for him as he sang:  
 "So when you fled that mad young man, wife  
 35 so chaste, and when the venomous snake applied its  
 poison from an unwilling mouth, it was not enough for you  
 to go to Orcus just once, delivering your innocent life to  
 your fates, nor for a few tears to be shed over your death,  
 my darling, without me myself forcing you back, dearest  
 40 wife, back beneath the laws of an unjust tyrant;  
 crazy, with my deadly eyes, I provided another grief  
 for me myself, without an end. That snake, just a grim avenger  
 of an ominous love, was kinder than I was.  
 It restored you to your husband, snatched from calamity.  
 45 I myself snatched you, yes you, from me; tearfully slipping back  
 as we embraced, you fled from those pernicious eyes,  
 snatched far away. Where do you go, my dear? Already  
 the ferryman, himself lamenting, refuses me a another crossing on his raft.

Rex Erebi dolet ipse, dolet Regina profundi,  
50 commiserans, legesque infracti coniugis odit.  
Quaeque meo primum concussae pectora cantu,  
ardentes oculos tenui sparsere liquore;  
Eumenidum guttis maioribus ora gravantur.

Tu vero neque me damnas neque fata remordent  
55 te tua; nec velles nisi sic aspecta reverti.

Tota sed in curas viduati coniugis acres  
intendis luctus. Me, me in suspiria, me, me  
in lacrimas decet ire, animamque efflare nocentem.

Te nemus Elysium foveat, tibi mollior aura  
60 consumat lacrimas, te nullo vulnere tardam  
ad choreas Nymphae vocitent ducantque vagantem  
seculo per prata pede, qua nullus in herba  
anguis odorata liventi sibilat ore.

Nos vitam in tenebris aegram luctumque trahamus,  
65 qua non ulla pedes humanos semita ducat.

Ad glaciale Hebrum deserti in rupibus Haemi,  
mecum undae, mecum antra gemant mea plectra secutae  
ornique piceaeque fleant, et largius aureas  
infami lacrimas diffundat ab arbore Myrrha.

70 Phoebe pater, si non falsos mihi narrat amores  
Calliope, sume hanc citharam. Mihi tensa remissae  
deficiunt ad fila manus. Tu pollice luctum  
elice de fidibus, qualem Peneia Daphne,  
cortice tecta novo, trunco exaudivit ab imo,  
75 damnavitque suos nutanti vertice fastus;  
qualem labenti super ingeminans Cyparisso,  
pro puero ramis lugubribus inclinatus,  
oscula fixisti ligno suprema dolenti;  
qualem effundebas funesti in crimina disci,  
80 optima cum tellus, generoso feta cruore,  
ad tua purpureum submisit basia florem,  
dilectum florem pro dilecto Hyacintho.

Euridice, miseri Euridice misera uxor amantis,  
cur me tentantem Stygiae vada vasta paludis  
85 non niger absorpsit violento vertice fluctus?  
Cur me tam mites spectastis Erinyes, et tu  
formidatarum custos ignave viarum,

The king of Hades himself grieves, as does the Queen of Hell,  
 50 who commiserates, hating the laws of her unbending husband.  
 All the Furies, aroused first in their hearts by my song,  
 have sprinkled their burning eyes with light moisture,  
 and their faces are heavy with even larger tear-drops.

But you neither condemn me, nor does your death  
 55 distress you; nor would you want to return without being looked at so.

But you turn your widowed husband's love entirely  
 into bitter grief. It is proper for me, for me to turn to sighs,  
 for me, for me to turn to tears and breathe out my guilty life.

May the Elysian grove sustain you, may a gentler breeze  
 60 dry up your tears, may the nymphs call you to their dances,  
 slowed down by no wound, and lead you wandering  
 through the meadows with a steady foot, where no snake  
 hisses with livid mouth in the fragrant grass.

But I pass a life of sickness and grief in the shadows,  
 65 where there is no path to lead human feet.

By the icy Ebro, on the crags of deserted Haemus,  
 let the waters lament with me, with me the caves.

Following my lyre, let mountain-ashes and pines weep, and Myrrha  
 pour out golden tears more abundantly from her infamous tree.

70 Father Apollo, if Calliope tells of a true love  
 for me, then take this lute. My hands are tired and  
 fail with the tight strings. Produce grief yourself from the lyre  
 with your thumb, music such as Daphne, daughter of Peneus,  
 heard from the base of her trunk, as new bark covered her,  
 75 and as she cursed her own pride with shaking head.

Or such as you repeated over Cyparissus as he fainted,  
 bending over for the boy with mournful branches,  
 while planting final kisses on his grieving tree.

Or such as you poured out at the crime of the fatal discus,  
 80 when noble earth, pregnant with aristocratic blood,  
 produced a purple flower for your kisses, a beloved  
 flower, in the place of your beloved Hyacinthus.

Eurydice, Eurydice, unhappy wife of an unhappy lover,  
 why did a black wave not swallow me up in a raging  
 85 whirlpool, as I tried the wide shallows of the Stygian marsh?  
 Why did you look at me so kindly, furies, and you,  
 cowardly guardian of the road so feared by man,

- deposita triplicis ieiuna gutturis ira,  
ad mea ludebas blanda vestigia cauda?
- 90 Vestrum erat hoc raptare caput membrisque revulsis  
per Phlegethontas audacem spargere flammās  
artificem. Eluctatus in aera spiritus isset,  
cumque umbra tenuis se confudisset amata  
Euridices, tutoque suos vidisset amores.
- 95 Heu, quis me citharae tam blandum fila movere,  
quis deus edocuit tam molli carmine Ditem  
demulcere truem, serpenticomāsque sorores  
ad lacrimas urgere novas? Tunc stridere raucum  
debant domino non agnoscenda canoro  
100 stamina, et in medio vox intercepta palato  
succidere. Heu, gravis arte mea mihi luctus inundat.  
Mitis eras igitur Pluto, ut crudelior esses,  
fallacemque meo velares crimine culpam.  
At non te Siculo nuper de litore curru  
105 praepete cum fugeres, in dulcem vertere praedam  
sollicitos oculos vetuisset conscia mater.  
Hei, duras fati leges, semperque caducas  
spes hominum, pugnante deo. Qui corda ferarum,  
qui domui silices, proprios compescere motus  
110 non valui occultumque deae Cythereidos ignem.  
Ergo pro cara suspiria anhelat marita,  
pallorem exsanguem, maciem horroremque trementem,  
et Furias comites inferna ab sede reduxi.  
Nec potui curas Lethen sopire bibendo.
- 115 Abde coloratos auro, Pater, abde iugales  
fluctibus Herculeis; melius nox apta dolori est.  
Redde coloratos telluri, redde iugales,  
ecce mihi lacrimae noctem fecere dolorque,  
turgidaque imbre diem praetexunt lumina denso.
- 120 Sic tenerum in silvis maeret Philomela nepotem,  
sic soror in tectis natum deplorat hirundo,  
sic gemit arenti viduatus ab arbore turtur,  
sic nondum lacrimis satiata Memnonis umbra  
lutea perpetuo stillat Tithonia rore.
- 125 Euridice, miseri Euridice misera uxor amantis,  
me tecum, me debueras auferre sub umbras

- why did you lay aside the hungry rage of your triple throat,  
and play at my feet with a fawning tail?
- 90 It was your job to snatch this head, and tear off its limbs,  
to sprinkle the presumptuous poet through Phlegethontian  
flames. His spirit, forcing its way out into the air,  
would have joined itself with the beloved ghost of thin  
Eurydice, and would have seen its love in safety.
- 95 Alas, which god taught me to play the lute's strings  
so charmingly, and taught me to soften savage Hell with so  
sweet a song, and to force the snake-haired sisters  
to strange tears? The strings then ought to have  
grated raucously, unrecognisable to their melodious master,  
100 and his voice, cut off in mid palate, should have  
collapsed. Alas, thanks to my skill, heavy grief enfolds me!  
Therefore, Pluto, you were kind so as to be more cruel,  
to cover up an imaginary crime by laying a charge against me.  
Yet when you were fleeing recently in a speedy chariot  
105 from the shore of Sicily, a conspiring mother did not forbid  
you from turning your worried eyes back to your sweet prey.  
Alas, harsh laws of fate, and human hopes ever fleeting  
when a god opposes! I who tamed flints and the hearts of  
wild animals, was unable to control my own movements  
110 and the hidden fire of the goddess of Cythera.  
And so, instead of my dear wife, I brought back  
from the infernal seat sobbing sighs and bloodless pallor,  
emaciation and fearful horror, and the sister Furies  
And I could not put my cares to rest with a drink from Lethe.
- 115 Father Apollo, hide your gold-coloured team of horses,  
hide them in the waves of Hercules; night better suits grief.  
Return your coloured team to earth, restore it.  
Look, my tears and grief have made it night,  
and my swollen eyes shroud the day with dense showers.
- 120 Even so, in the woods, the nightingale mourns a tender grandson,  
even so, under the eaves, her sister swallow bewails her offspring,  
so the widowed turtle-dove mourns from an arid tree,  
and so, as Memnon's shade is not yet appeased with tears,  
golden Aurora lets drops fall with perpetual dew.
- 125 Eurydice, Eurydice, unhappy wife of an unhappy lover,  
you should have taken me with you, taken me headlong

- praecipitem. Vitam nobis mors illa dedisset.  
 Ipsa Venus iunctos vallem duxisset in illam  
 qua ver perpetuis fecundat odoribus arva.  
 130 Ipse puer Veneris, flammata lampada quassans  
 discussisset, amor, nebulas Acherontis opaci.  
 Nunc noctem simul invisa cum luce dedisti,  
 invidē dux Erebi; moriar tamen. En mihi laxis  
 genua labant nervis, exsanguis serpit in artus  
 135 pallor, et haud multum, memini, distamus ab umbris,  
 maesta per ignavam quas volvit cumba paludem,  
 squalida peioris nantes confinia ripae.

- Euridice, misera Euridice, misera uxor amantis,  
 bis moriens tecum, Euridice, bis per Styga traxi  
 140 hanc animam, tecumque manet pars maxima nostri.  
 Corpus inane traho tenui vix mobile vento,  
 qualem Thessalicis immixto carmine succis  
 inspirant animam per frigida membra caducam  
 monstifici vates, aut qualia luce carentum  
 145 instabili simulacra unum discurrere motum  
 et tenues miscere sonos et inania vocum  
 murmura, solliciti per somnia vana videmus.

- Euridice, miseri Euridice misera uxor amantis,  
 Euridice, quo me fletu tua fata piare,  
 150 quove iubes gemitu? Quid me tolerare cruentum?  
 Aspice cum scisso laniatas pectore vestes,  
 aspice cum tepido lacrimas certare cruore.  
 En tibi, damnamus tenebris haec lumina caecis,  
 aeternumque Patris iubar interdicimus illis,  
 155 purpureum iubar, et sub nocte natantia nigra  
 cogimus admissi lenta intorpescere poena.  
 En tibi, quod nimio furiatum pectus amore  
 intempestivo rupit mea gaudia voto,  
 femineo numquam posthac ardore calebit.  
 160 Nulla tuum paelex premet importuna cubile,  
 Euridice, nec primaevos avertet amores  
 mollibus illecebris Ciconum nurus ulla meorum”.

Plura quidem dicturus erat; vicina canenti  
 Calliope vetuit, Lycidamque amplexa repressit.

- beneath the shades. That death would have given us life.  
Venus herself would have led us, united, into that valley  
where Spring makes the fields bloom with perpetual perfumes.
- 130 Cupid himself, the son of Venus, shaking a blazing torch,  
would have scattered the shadows of gloomy Acheron.  
Now you have given me night together with hateful daylight,  
envious King of Erebus; and yet I shall die. Look, my knees  
are shaking, their tendons slack, and pallor spreads over my bloodless
- 135 limbs. I am now close, I recall, to those shades  
whom the gloomy boat ferries over the sluggish marsh,  
as I float over the foul confines of an even worse river-bank.
- Eurydice, unhappy Eurydice, unhappy wife of a lover,  
twice dying, Eurydice, twice drawing this soul with you
- 140 through the river Styx; with you the greatest part of me remains.  
I drag along an empty body, scarcely moved by a light wind,  
as when magical seers mix incantations with Thessalian  
potions and send a fleeting breath through ice-cold limbs;  
or like the images of men, lacking fickle light,
- 145 that we see in our vain dreams, when we are worried,  
images that run through just one movement, accompanied  
by faint sounds and empty murmurs of voices.
- Eurydice, Eurydice, unhappy wife of an unhappy lover,  
Eurydice, why do you bid me appease your fates
- 150 with weeping and groans? Why did you allow my cruelty?  
Look at my ragged clothes and my torn breast,  
Look at my tears contending with my warm blood.  
Behold, for you I condemn these eyes to blind darkness,  
and forbid them the eternal light of my father,
- 155 his brilliant beam, and I force them beneath black night,  
swimming with tears, to grow dim with slow punishment for my crime.  
Behold, for you my heart, which, maddened by excessive love,  
destroyed my happiness with an untimely prayer,  
will never hereafter burn with love for a woman.
- 160 No cruel mistress will lie on your bed,  
Eurydice, nor will any young girl of the Cicones  
seduce me from my first love with soft enticements".  
He was about to tell more, but Calliope nearby  
said no, and embracing Lycidas, stopped him from singing.

The Latin poem, written in Virgilian hexameters, shows the artistry of young Secundus at its best. For example, his use of spondees to express intense grief, as in line 23 (with a strong pause after *circūstābānt*), line 30 (with a similar break in the third foot), and again in line 57, perhaps the saddest line in the poem, with its quadruple *mē*, the second elided. Yet this is matched by Apollo's grief in lines 77-82, with the spondaic ending to 77, the six gloomy *f* sounds, the four spondaic feet in 69 and 82, and the final conflict of ictus and accent with his beloved *Hŷācīnthō*, neatly balancing the *Cŷpārīssō* who ends the sibilant grief of line 76. The horrors of poison, Cerberus and grim fate are depicted likewise by a procession of spondees in line 35 (with a *v* alliteration), line 87 (with the monstrous *fōrmīdātārūm*) and line 107 (with four spondaic, disyllabic words). In lines 17-23, besides the sibilant sound-effects from *deserti* down to *ursi*, changing to gutturals and nasals in 19-22, and the sad *-ae* refrain in 20 and 22, the lament ends with a jarring spondaic fifth foot in line 22, that runs on to 23, and the striking stop before *Ast* (a very strong adversative).

By contrast, the lightness of Calliope's entry and words is neatly suggested by the bucolic or 'feminine' caesurae in lines 25, 27 and 29. Likewise, it is used for grieving trees in line 68, for Orpheus' soul in lines 92 and 140, and for Venus' appearance in line 110. Equally effective is the lack of a pause in the third foot of lines 35 (for relentless poison), 50 (for Persephone's hatred of relentless law, following the compliant 'feminine' caesura in 49), 58 (continuing the pathos of 57), and in the pitiful *Euridice* refrain in 83, 125, 138 and 148. Otherwise, there is a normal balance of third (124) and second plus fourth foot (23) caesurae.

Final monosyllables are limited to the personal pronouns *me* in 57 and *tu* in 86. Besides the pauses already mentioned, Secundus avoids the monotony of end-stopped lines with a pleasantly varied run-on, as can be seen in the long opening period (1-16). In it, there are pauses at the end of 1, after foot five in 2, after the emphatic *māērēntēm* and *fērālēs* in 4 and 5, at the end of 7, at the main caesura in 8, after *quōs illi* in 9, at the end of 10, after *heu* in 11, in foot five in 12, foot four in 14, at the end of 15 and 16, and missing from 6 and 13; variety and cohesion worthy of Virgil, who was also the model for a few metrical oddities. For example, the spondaic *āurēās* in 68, the hiatus after *dilēctō* in 82, the *gēnuā* in 134 and the lengthening of *que* in arsis



in 13 *āstūqūe* and 68 *ōrnīqūe*<sup>3</sup>. These metrical features combine to give a suitably Virgilian tone to the poem's narrative.

The poem's structure is complex, but original and most effective. After introducing Lycidas singing about Orpheus' double loss of Eurydice (1-5), the poet focuses on the shepherd, who forgets his sheep because of his obsession for the sophisticated Neaera (6-16), whose beauty is fully described in 11-16. Her iciness reappears in the icy crags (17), where wild animals and trees respond to Lycidas, just as if he was Orpheus himself (17-23). This deceives Calliope, who wonders if her son has again escaped from Hades, and kisses the young man who seems to be her son, but is in fact Lycidas. Blushing, she sadly provides him with all the words of her son's lament (23-33). Through Lycidas, Orpheus now bewails his second loss of Eurydice, and its unhappy sequel (34-162), until Calliope sadly stops Lycidas in mid-flow (163-4) — the sparagmos of her son was the immediate sequel to his final rejection of the Ciconian women. The double links between Lycidas first singing about Orpheus and then acting as his mouthpiece, and between Lycidas' loss of Neaera and Orpheus' loss of Eurydice, neatly integrate the narrative, its grief relieved by the sympathetic humour of Calliope's mistaken identity, and her final hug to stifle Lycidas' sad song.

In the Orpheus tradition, the obvious source for this story-within-a-story is the descent of Orpheus in Virgil *Georgics* 4, 453-527, narrated by Proteus to explain Aristaeus' loss of his bees, as part of the very Homeric saga of Aristaeus' descent beneath the sea, to seek Cyrene's advice (317-558). However, Secundus gives this a brilliant renewal, with Orpheus' mother as the catalyst, and an Orpheus-like shepherd as the mouthpiece, an improvement on Aristaeus' unlikely attempted rape, and Proteus' incongruity as the mouthpiece of so perfect a cameo. The light humor in Calliope's mistaken identity also seems a better

<sup>3</sup> At v. 62, P. Bosscha (Leyden ed., 1821, Vol. I, p. 175) changed Secundus' *seculo...pede* to *seculo...pedem*, to avoid the unusual lengthening in arsis of *pēdē*. Secundus' brothers, Grudius and Marius, changed his *volvit quas* to *quas volvit* at v. 136, and his *perpetuum* to *perpetuis* at v. 129, both of which I have printed. Other variants (excluding printing slips) are as follows: 10 *cupidis/tepidis* Bosscha *op. cit.*; 25 *meus/meis* Scriverius 1619, Bosscha; *puero se iunxit/vero se iungit* Bosscha; 34 *castissima/clarissima* Bosscha; 44 *sceleris/celeri* Scriverius 1619, 1631, Bosscha; 52 *oculos/oculis* Scriverius 1619, 1631; 66 *rupibus/montibus* Bosscha; 137 *nantes* Bosscha/*nanteis* MSS; 138 *misera Eur./miseri Eur.* Scriverius 1931, Bosscha; 150 *Quove/Quoque* Bosscha; 153 *damnamus/donamus* Paris ed. 1561; *furiatum/furiarum* Bosscha. I owe all of these variants to A. M. M. Dekker of Utrecht, at present editing Secundus' poems. At 62, I had suggested *seculo...pedem* before seeing Bosscha's emendation; however, this disrupts the natural flow of the Latin.

transition than the miraculous transformations of Proteus in the cave scene.

As for the lament of Orpheus, there is an original of sorts in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.64-11.2, where the metamorphoses of Apollo's darling boys, Cyparissus and Hyacinthus, come at the beginning of Orpheus' lengthy song to the encircling trees and wild animals. Both of these appear in Secundus' version, vv. 76-82. However, whereas Ovid's form part of a series of sexual abnormalities, Secundus' are well integrated with the unhappy loss of his beloved Eurydice<sup>4</sup>. And whereas Ovid moves, in 10.78-85, from Orpheus' rejection of any other bride to his unlikely establishment of pederasty in Thrace, Secundus lets Calliope break off Lycidas' lament with a recollection of his first, sacred love, resisting the charms of Ciconian seducers, rather than his being dismembered by Ciconian Bacchantes. Of course, Ovid's version is parodic; the pederasty has a mock-aetiological flavour to it, and his rhetorical either/or for not remarrying is humorous. By contrast, for Secundus love is always serious.

Unlike the stories of the two boys, the metamorphosis of Daphne (1.452-567) does share a few words with Secundus' account, such as *novo sub cortice* (554) and *cortice tecta novo* (74), and *oscula dat ligno* (556) reappearing as *oscula fixisti ligno* (78) of Cyparissus; and their endings are similar. However, Secundus' final head-shake of self-condemnation for her pride (75) is more realistic than Ovid's shake of consent, to her very Roman mission in life (566-7), where *utque caput* is somewhat banal after *adnuat*: 'the laurel nodded with her newly-made branches, and seemed to shake her summit *like a head*'. Otherwise, besides the common background derived from Virgil's version, these are just a few Ovidian elements used by Secundus, such as Eurydice's happy life in Hades in *Met.* 11. 64-6, expanded by Secundus in 59-63, where the *nullo vulnere tardam* ('slowed down by no wound') is close to *Met.* 10.49 *incessit passu de vulnere tardo* ('she came with steps slowed down by her wound'). Likewise, Orpheus' argument in *Met.* 10.28-9 that Pluto was himself a victim of love is given more dramatic treatment by

<sup>4</sup> Surprisingly enough, there are no similarities of vocabulary in their accounts of the boys' metamorphoses, although Apollo's kissing of Daphne's wooden trunk is used for Cyparissus by Secundus. No line in Ovid matches the pathos of 82, with its anaphora of *florem*, its heavy build-up of spondees, its triple final -ō, its hiatus after *dilecto* and the final discordant rhythm (like *Hyllo animisque* in Virgil *Aen.* xii.535).

Secundus in 102-106, with Persephone as his *praedam* and Demeter *conscia*.

Orpheus' lament, as sung by Lycidas in 34-162, is also very well constructed. At the start, he tells of Eurydice's second death, which was all his fault; Elysium hopefully for her, Nature weeping with him, in Thrace (34-69). He then appeals to Apollo for suitable tears (70-82). Next, a series of rhetorical questions, based on his underworld visit (84-114). Then another appeal to Apollo, for darkness (117-119), and his final mourning, closeness to death and rejection of other women (120-162). Besides the appeals to his father, which separate the three main sections (34-69, 84-114 and 120-162, similar in length), the Eurydice refrain neatly links the narrative, with subtle changes in the formula, her name being used twice at 83 and 125, and thrice at 138 and 148. Several other thematic links are apparent: the snake that unwillingly bit Eurydice (35-6), is kinder than Orpheus (42) and is no threat to her in Elysium (63); the river Styx that cannot be crossed twice (47-8), and should have drowned Orpheus (84-5), is again near to him (135-7) and was twice crossed by his wife (139-140); the Furies weep at 51-53, were too kind at 86, weep at 97-8 and return with Orpheus at 113; Eurydice's imaginary Elysium in 59-63 is balanced by the lovers' union in death at 92-4 and 126-131; the extended imagery of the mourning birds in 120-124 is balanced by the extended witchcraft-dream imagery in 142-147; Orpheus cannot control his passion at 109-110, and again at 157-158; his eyes, once deadly (41) and pernicious (46) to Eurydice, are now swollen with tears that darken the day (118-119), condemned to eternal darkness (153-5, where Apollo's light reappears); and finally, his music and grief are linked at 51-53, 64-69 and 100-101.

Although several borrowings from Virgil and Ovid have been mentioned, more surprising is the originality of Secundus. Besides having very few verbal borrowings, he produces a very individual version of the popular myth, both in the structure of the poem, and of the lament, and in their details. For example, the choice of a love-sick shepherd both to sing about Orpheus and to serve as his mouthpiece; the sympathy of trees and wild animals for Lycidas (17-23) just as for Orpheus (66-9, 108-9); the use of Orpheus' mother, Calliope, and his double appeal to his father, Apollo; the appropriate *vesanum* ('insane') that describes Aristaeus' lust (Ovid omits him, and he is simply *te* in Virgil); the 'unwilling mouth' (36) of the snake, that is kinder than Orpheus (42-3);

the deadly, pernicious eyes of Orpheus (41,46); Pluto's grief, and Persephone's commiseration, and hatred of her husband's harsh laws (49-50); Eurydice's snake-free Elysium (59-63); Myrrha's tears for Orpheus (68-9; although her metamorphosis forms part of Orpheus' song in Ovid); the poet's hands being tired from his lute-plucking (71-2); Daphne's curse on her own pride (75); the poet's would-be drowning in the Styx (84-5); the incongruous picture of Cerberus, with fawning tail, playing at Orpheus' feet, like a puppy (87-9), instead of tearing him apart (90-92); his wish for a rasping lyre and voice (98-101); the rape of Persephone (104-6); Orpheus' companions, sighs, horror and Furies (111-113), without a drink from Lethe (114); his cry to Apollo for night, with the following Renaissance conceit of its being produced already by his weeping (115-9), the four birds that mourn (120-4; the nightingale appears in Virgil's famous simile, 511-5); the quadruple Eurydice refrain; the picture of Venus and Cupid brightening Acheron for the lovers (128-31); the pallor and approaching death of Orpheus (133-7), and his empty body, its soul stolen by Eurydice (139-141); the vivid images of breath-filled corpses and vain dreams (142-7); Orpheus' condemnation of his eyes to blindness (153-6), and finally, the cruel mistress and female Ciconian seducer (161-2).

It is possible that Secundus read Poliziano's *Orfeo* (c.1480), the first secular play in Italian. His teacher at Bourges was the Italian humanist, Andrea Alciati, Milanese professor of Law, and author of the prototype *Emblemata* (1531), who may well have introduced him to Poliziano's works. However, the descent of Orpheus in *Orfeo* is a very close copy of the one in Ovid, and original features, such as the opening Eclogue, the eulogy of his Cardinal patron, the debate between Pluto, Minos and Proserpine, the fury blocking Orpheus' return descent, the chorus of Maenads, and Orpheus' fierce attack on women and marriage, that infuriates the Maenads, these features seem to have made no impression on Secundus' dramatic treatment of the myth, except, perhaps, for its overtly pastoral setting. Rather, Secundus relied on the versions of the myth by Virgil and Ovid, and on his own brilliant imagination and poetic artistry, just as evident in his *Orpheus* as in his best-known poems, the *Basia* and *Epithalamium*.

As for the later impact of Secundus' *Orpheus*, I suspect that its inclusion in the almost totally ignored *Silvarum Liber* may have given very few later readers of Secundus a chance to enjoy its poetry. Milton, however, seems to have been an exception. In his *Lycidas*, he links Lycidas

with both Calliope and Orpheus<sup>5</sup>, just as Secundus had done: 'What could the Muse herself that Orpheus bore, the Muse herself, for her enchanting son, Whom Universal nature did lament, when by the rout that made the hideous roar, His goary visage down the stream was sent, Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore' (58-62). In the following passage, Milton uses the name of Secundus' girl-friend in the *Basia*: 'To sport... with the tangles of Neaera's hair' (68-9). Neaera was a mistress of Horace, and of Lygdamus, who pictured her as *longos incompta capillos* in III.2 (although there she is in mourning). However, she is given new life in the much fuller treatment of her sexual charms in Secundus' *Basia*, where he coined the 'tangles' with his *tortiles capillos* (*Basia* 8)<sup>6</sup>. It certainly seems that Milton was familiar with the *opera omnia* of Secundus<sup>7</sup>, unlike those who came after him. I hope this article will remedy that omission.

University of Melbourne  
Dept. of Classics

<sup>5</sup> Although he follows Virgil in having Aristaeus pursue the fleeing Eurydice (speaking to her first of all).

<sup>6</sup> See R. J. Schoeck, "Milton and Neaera's Hair", *Notes & Queries* 201 (1956), 190-191, who reinforces F. A. Wright's link between the Neaera of Milton and Secundus, rather than Buchanan's *Neaera*. Neither mentions Secundus' *Orpheus*, although Wright translates his *Odes and Epigrams* as well as the usual *Basia* and *Epithalamium*. W. L. Grant (*op. cit.*) was right to link this Neaera (Secundus' Spanish love) with the *femme fatale* of the *Basia*. Like Catullus 64, this dramatic 'epyllion' reveals the poet's own *cri de coeur*, both as Lycidas and as Orpheus (see Schoolfield *loc. cit.*).

<sup>7</sup> See F. J. Nichols, "Lycidas, *Epitaphium Damonis*, the empty dream, and the failed song", in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis* (Leuven, 1973), pp. 445-446, for the linguistic influence of Secundus' *Basia* on Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*.

Giuseppe PAPPONETTI

JULII ROSCII HORTINI *LUSUS PASTORALES*

(prima ricognizione del *Vat. Barb. lat.* 1967)

INTRODUZIONE

I. *Ragioni di un equivoco.*

Nacque dalla nobile Famiglia de' Rossi, fecondissima in ogni tempo di Uomini illustri, e di talento. Era dotato di un elevatissimo ingegno: Applicatosi quindi ancor giovane allo studio delle Umane, e greche lettere per avvalersene nelle rime, ond'era portatissimo, approfittossi in modo, che divenne eccellente Poeta del suo Secolo. Per altro nell'età fresca medesima meritò di essere amato qual figlio da M. Antonio Mureto...

Sono linee di un ritratto come tanti era in uso tracciarne in Italia dopo la ripresa settecentesca degli studi eruditi, sicché a incontrastato modello si ponevano da un canto gli *Annali* del Muratori e dall'altro la monumentale *Storia della letteratura italiana* di Gerolamo Tiraboschi; nulla da eccepire, pertanto, se non fosse che le parole citate appartengono ad una fortunata opera di ricerca, le *Memorie storiche degli uomini illustri della città di Solmona* del canonico Ignazio Di Pietro<sup>1</sup>, ancor oggi particolarmente preziosa per l'abbondanza dei dati in essa contenuti, ove l'autore, nell'ambito della fitta teoria dei letterati sulmonesi del Cinquecento, si sofferma a presentare Giulio Roscio, con grossolana ed erronea attribuzione, quale esponente fra i più in vista di un casato locale, e lo annovera così nel contesto epigonico della lunga vicenda cittadina di splendida evidenza letteraria.

È ben vero che, legata da sempre al culto del suo figlio più antico e famoso, Publio Ovidio Nasone, Sulmona ne aveva da secoli conservato tenace memoria, passata indelebilmente fra i guasti della sua storia collettiva dall'alto Medioevo alla prima fase della rinascenza

<sup>1</sup> *Memorie storiche degli uomini illustri della città di Solmona raccolte dal P.D. Ignazio di Pietro etc.* — (Aquila MDCCCVI, Nella Stamperia Grossiana), p. 141.

umanistica mediotrecentesca; e questo in virtù di un vissuto biunivoco, che parallelamente era venuto svolgendosi e sulla scorta di una presenza socialmente viva e vitale, e sulla scia di un confronto / presenza ineludibili da parte di chiunque volesse crescere e realizzarsi nel privilegiante ruolo della scrittura poetica. Da una parte, dunque, un Ovidio sempre presente alla coscienza popolare che, in ogni momento della sua storia, si era a lui affidata come a guida, a profetico portavoce dell'essenza stessa dell'esistere dell'uomo, a sicuro maestro di regole e comportamenti, a mago, medico e taumaturgo<sup>2</sup>, non diversamente cioè da quanto accadeva a livello europeo per Virgilio; il che spiega bene come tale profondo e radicato attaccamento non potesse poi sfuggire, se non a speculazioni politiche, almeno ad opportune strumentalizzazioni da parte del potere centrale nei confronti dei sudditi sulmonesi<sup>3</sup>. D'altro canto, sempre all'insegna di Ovidio la città quattrocentesca aveva saputo fondare risveglio economico e crescita culturale, nel rinnovamento però di una consolidata tradizione, riavviando così un fortunato sviluppo che, agli esordi, aveva trovato esponenti di rilievo in ambito di magistero petrarchesco quali Barbato e Giovanni Quatrario; ché, inoltre, a voler seguire tale *iter*, è possibile del pari vedere come gli umanisti sulmonesi abbandonassero progressivamente Napoli angioina ed aragonese spostando l'attenzione su Roma<sup>4</sup>. Proprio la memore esperienza del Quatrario, cui ebbero più

<sup>2</sup> Per un completo panorama dell'incidenza di Ovidio nella tradizione popolare cfr. A. De Nino, *Ovidio nella tradizione popolare di Sulmona*, (De Arcangelis, Casalbordino 1886); G. Pansa, *Ovidio nel Medioevo e nella tradizione popolare*, (U. Caroselli Ed., Sulmona 1924); E. Paratore, *Le tradizioni popolari abruzzesi su Ovidio alla luce delle nuove esperienze*, in *Atti del VII Congresso Nazionale delle tradizioni popolari. Chieti 1957*, (Olschki, Firenze 1959), pp. 30-55.

<sup>3</sup> Valga per tutti l'esempio di Alfonso I d'Aragona, e la sua strumentalizzazione del culto ovidiano per accaparrarsi immediatamente la devozione dei Sulmonesi; su come esso venne sfruttato, utilizzando la cassa di risonanza della scrittura di un umanista della levatura di Lorenzo Valla, cfr. M. Regoliosi, "Due nuove lettere di Lorenzo Valla", *Italia Medievale e Umanistica* XXV (1982), pp. 153-64.

<sup>4</sup> Per quanto concerne la ripresa umanistica di Sulmona nel tardo Quattrocento in ottica ovidiana, cfr. A. Campana, *Le statue quattrocentesche di Ovidio e il capitanato sulmonese di Polidoro Tiberti*, in *Atti del Convegno internazionale ovidiano. Sulmona, Maggio 1958* (Istituto di Studi Romani Ed. Roma 1959), vol. I, pp. 169-88; mentre, riguardo tutto l'arco del fervore poetico-culturale interrotto solo dall'infeudamento presecientesco, sia consentito rimandare a G. Papponetti, *Intellettuali e circolazione libraria in Sulmona fra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, in *Cultura umanistica nel Meridione e la Stampa in Abruzzo. Atti del Convegno: 12-14 Novembre 1982*, Deputazione di Storia Patria negli Abruzzi (L'Aquila 1984), pp. 259-307.

tardi ad aggiungersi Bartolomeo de Schalis e Probo de Marianis<sup>5</sup>, fece sì che la via risultasse per il futuro inderogabilmente segnata in tal senso; e questo ancora al crepuscolo dell'Umanesimo, quando ormai la lezione del Petrarca, di Poggio e di Coluccio era arrivata infine ad esplodere nella capillare diffusione a stampa dei testi classici ed a toccare il suo vertice qualitativo nelle edizioni "da mano" di Aldo Manuzio il vecchio, mentre la filologia italiana stava purtroppo avviandosi a passare il testimone, consegnando il patrimonio acquisito a uomini della tempra e dell'acribia di Giusto Lipsio e degli Heinsio.

Il recuperato prestigio della Curia romana era intanto approdato a realizzare monumentali concreti come la *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana* (legata nel suo più pieno farsi e divenire al nome celebre del cardinale Guglielmo Sirleto, e in realtà all'operoso scrupolo sistematico di figure forse meno note, esponenti della famiglia abruzzese dei Ranalli: Federigo e Marino per primi)<sup>6</sup>, ovvero quella vivacissima palestra degli *studia humanitatis* che fu la *Sapienza*; perciò, prima che, stretta nella morsa controriformistica, la scena italiana finisse per chiudersi quasi del tutto alla ricerca moderna ed attiva in campo filologico, la stagione romana della seconda metà del Cinquecento era ancora destinata a segnalarsi a livelli di eccellenza. La vicenda di Aldo Manuzio jr—che l'avrebbe in pratica conclusa—e, non di meno, quella di suo padre Paolo e della *Stamperia* romana<sup>7</sup> sono in effetti la testimonianza lampante di quanto l'acume e l'intraprendenza intellettuale sapessero di nuovo offrire come punti saldi e imprescindibili conquiste: ad essi legata, e per essi incancellabile stimolo creativo,

<sup>5</sup> Riguardo questi autori, indico sommariamente i rispettivi contributi di G. Pansa, *Giovanni Quatrario di Sulmona. Contributo alla storia dell'Umanesimo (1336-1402)*, Tip. Ed. Sociale (Sulmona 1912); W.K. Percival, "The *Artis Grammaticae Opusculum* of Bartolomeo sulmonese. A Newly Discovered Latin Grammar of the Quattrocento", *Renaissance Quarterly* XXX (1978), pp. 39-47; M. Probi Sulmonensis, *Triumphus Hydruntinus*, Introduzione... di M. Pisani Massamormile (S. E. N., Napoli 1979), pp. 41-74; mentre, per una bibliografia più dettagliata cfr. Papponetti, *Intellettuali* cit., *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> Sui Ranalli di Raiano bibliotecari alla Vaticana, cfr. specialmente P. Petitmengin, "Recherches sur l'organisation de la Bibliothèque Vaticane à l'époque des Ranalli (1547-1645)", *École Française de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* LXXV (1963), pp. 561-628.

<sup>7</sup> Per la rete dei rapporti fra i Manuzio e gli altri dotti del tempo resta ancora indispensabile il registro epistolare ricostruito da E. Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano. Inventario cronologico-analitico 1483-1597*, Istituto per la collaborazione culturale Venezia-Roma (Venezia 1957).



la figura di un maestro della statura di Marc'Antoine Muret<sup>8</sup> rappresentò pure il fattore aggregante di una cerchia di studiosi che si segnalavano per altissimo rigore: Fulvio Orsini, Pietro Vettori, Paolo Melisso, Paolo Sagrati, il cardinal Sirleto e lo stesso Lipsio<sup>9</sup>, nonché altri giovani allievi chiamati a raccogliarne e mettere a frutto insegnamento ed eredità etico-spirituale; fra questi Francesco Benci, Orazio Graziani, il sulmonese Hercole Ciofano e, appunto, Giulio Roscio. C'è da aggiungere, inoltre, che l'atmosfera culturale di questi anni veniva in Sulmona ad essere ormai condizionata appieno dal programma di sostenuta ripresa dei valori del cattolicesimo riformato, nella misura in cui erano emersi e rigidamente programmati nelle diverse fasi del Concilio; ed infatti il vescovo di questo periodo null'altri fu se non quel Pompeo Zambecari che parte molto attiva aveva avuto proprio nelle lunghe sessioni di Trento—e basta a documentarcelo la monumentale *Istoria* di Paolo Sarpi<sup>10</sup>. Il carisma dello Zambecari, quale ci risulta dalle fitte testimonianze della sua attività pastorale nella complessa e lacerata compagine della diocesi di Valva e Sulmona, ci appare oggi tutto proteso all'incremento di una presenza della Chiesa che fosse in grado di rafforzare, nel tessuto civico, le sue posizioni di preminenza senza riproporre un rapporto di conflittualità con le grandi e medie famiglie cittadine, e invece soccorresse certe istanze di consolidato prestigio incanalandole e cooptandole con equilibrio agli obiettivi che si prefiggeva<sup>11</sup>; non stupisce che siffatto programma, in Sulmona come altrove, non solo tendesse a favorire specialmente la corretta formazione di giovani ingegni, con l'avviarli e sostenerli nel patrocinio di studi che, pur nello specifico ambito umanistico, non consentissero più come per il passato motivo di frizione o scontata deroga in orbita laica, ma proponesse quindi l'emergenza di elementi culturalmente preparati e predisposti a sostenere la Chiesa nei suoi rinnovati programmi ecumenici anche da posizioni esterne, o di affiancamento,

<sup>8</sup> Un profilo globale della personalità del Muret in C. Dejob, *Marc-Antoine Muret. Un professeur français en Italie dans la seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Slatkine reprints, (Genève 1970; Réimp. de l'éd. de Paris, 1881).

<sup>9</sup> Sull'attività catalizzante del Muret, cfr. ad es. J. Ruysschaert, "Le séjour de Juste Lipse à Rome (1568-70) d'après ses "Antiquae lectiones" et sa correspondance", *Bull. Instit. histor. Belge de Rome* XXIV (1947-48), pp. 139-92.

<sup>10</sup> P. Sarpi, *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino* (Einaudi, Torino 1974), pp. 813, 832, 1140, 1168, 1239.

<sup>11</sup> A. Chiaverini, *La Diocesi di Valva e Sulmona*, vol. VI, Accademia Cateriniana di cultura 27 (Sulmona 1978), pp. 115-46.

e tutto questo in un campo, cioè quello dello studio dei poeti della latinità classica, che più pericolosamente poteva alimentare alternative conflittuali sul piano ideologico: così si spiega, ad esempio, come Hercole Ciofano (che si sarebbe imposto all'attenzione in Europa come commentatore delle opere di Ovidio) venisse presto inviato a studiare nel Seminario romano; cosicché, prima ancora dell'arrivo a Roma di quel Muret che l'avrebbe accolto sotto la sua protezione, poteva di lì rivolgersi con particolare familiarità al vescovo Zambeccari per raccomandargli in Sulmona il fratello Marc'Antonio (il quale, maggiore di lui di dieci anni, aveva da tempo abbracciato il sacerdozio) mettendo in spiccato risalto che gli era debitore del primo insegnamento nel campo delle lettere, cui si era accompagnata una giusta formazione nel pieno rispetto dei principi religiosi<sup>12</sup>.

Ora, tornando all'esordio, non dovrebbe stupire più di tanto che Ignazio Di Pietro, uomo abbastanza dotto e comunque animato di sacro zelo nella difesa del patrimonio culturale e religioso in un periodo in cui la sua città e la sua diocesi maggiormente erano esposte agli sconvolgimenti destabilizzanti dell'occupazione franco-napoleonica (e lo dimostrò scrivendo una storia di Sulmona organizzata cronologicamente sulla scorta indispensabile di una ricostruita lista dei vescovi)<sup>13</sup>, tendesse ad accorpare nella tradizione cittadina tutti quei personaggi di spicco culturale non disgiunto da spessore etico in cui gli fosse capitato di imbattersi; e se lo fece addirittura per Angelo Poliziano, fino a sconfessarne con ostinazione l'indubbia appartenenza per nascita a Montepulciano<sup>14</sup>, a maggior ragione si sentì autorizzato ad affermare una sicura origine sulmonese per lo sconosciuto Giulio Roscio, di cui risultavano però l'abilità versificatoria, la chiara impostazione religiosa postridentina, il palese rapporto con i Ciofano, senza aver modo o volontà di accorgersi che era invece nato ad Orte<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Lettera inedita del 1561 (?), da Roma, in *Vat. Chig. lat.* J.IV.116, cc. 16<sup>v</sup>-17<sup>r</sup> (autografia).

<sup>13</sup> *Memorie storiche della città di Solmona compilate dal P.D. Ignazio Di Pietro* etc. (Stamp. Raimondi, Napoli 1804).

<sup>14</sup> *Memorie storiche degli uomini illustri* cit., p. 115 ("Sorti egli i natali in Solmona [...] Non mancano Autori, che il fanno nativo di Monte Polciano nella Toscana, per cui si crede acquistasse il nome di Poliziano. Ciò però provenne dalla lunga dimora fatta in detta Città ...").

<sup>15</sup> Cfr. Justi Fontanini Forojuliensis *De Antiquitatibus Hortae coloniae Hetruscorum libri tres...*, Romae, Ex Typ. Rocchi B., MDCCXXIII, pp. 307-10; e in tutti gli autografi il Roscio non manca mai di aggiungere al suo nome l'aggettivo *Hortinus*.

II. *Fra Muret e Manuzio.*

In verità, se buona parte della sua produzione era al tempo sconosciuta e resta a tutt'oggi inedita, consegnata unicamente a manoscritti autografi<sup>16</sup>, sta di fatto che il Roscio aveva però pubblicato a stampa e con varia fortuna alcune opere erudite di consistente mole<sup>17</sup>; inoltre, c'è da dire che il Di Pietro, per quanto attento e scrupoloso, non possedeva strumenti di informazione bibliografica che non fossero quelli reperibili nelle biblioteche monastiche o private sulmonesi: in simili circostanze, l'unico testo che ebbe a soccorrerlo fu senza dubbio un'edizione settecentesca delle *Opere* del Muret, con ampia scelta dall'epistolario<sup>18</sup>. E proprio da alcune epistole di questi appariva chiaro per la prima volta lo stretto rapporto che legò il Roscio innanzitutto a Marc'Antonio Ciofano: infatti, il Muret, scusandosi di non aver potuto rispondere sollecitamente per mancanza di persona fidata cui affidare missive, aveva infine deciso, trovandosi in Tivoli, di approntare un plico per un suo amico in Roma, demandandogliene il recapito al Roscio nel Seminario, con la speranza che a questi riuscisse facilmente di far pervenire al Ciofano la lettera allegata. Di queste due epistole<sup>19</sup>, una permette quindi di stabilire

<sup>16</sup> Dalla ricognizione finora possibile attraverso A. Sorbelli, *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. LI — Fano (Olschki, Firenze 1932), p. 62, n. 81, e *Iter italicum. A finding list of uncatalogued or incompletely catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other libraries compiled by P.O. Kristeller*, The Warburg Institute (E. J. Brill, London — Leiden), vol. I, 1963, p. 249; vol. II, 1967, pp. 16, 334, 405, 447-50, 472, 475, 483; vol. III, 1983, pp. 42, 217, risulta una produzione sparsa in diverse riproposte *mss* ma certamente nutrita, e non solo in campo poetico.

<sup>17</sup> Minimi per la produzione in versi, gli esiti editoriali delle altre opere del Roscio risultano abbastanza nutriti: fanno spicco in specie gli *Elogia militaria*, le *Icones operum misericordiae* e gli *Emblemata sacra*; ma un registro pressoché esaustivo è offerto dal *British Museum General Catalogue of printed books*, vol. 207 (London 1963), pp. 72s. e soprattutto dal *Catalogue Général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, t. CLV (Paris 1939), pp. 912-15. Debbo poi alla cortesia del prof. Jozef IJsewijn la segnalazione di quattro epigrammi a stampa: *Iulii Roscii Hortini Carmina affixa in Templo S. Caeciliae XXV. Jan MDXCI, quo die Paulus Sfondratus Gregorii XIII Fr. Fil. possessionem eius Tituli accepit.* (in appendice a *Oratio Fulvii Fulvii I. C. Romani habita ad Illustriss. et Reverend. DD. Paulum S. R. E. Presbyter. Card. Sfondratum die XXV Ianuarii MDXCI etc.* — Romae, Ex Typographia Vincentii Accolti, in Burgo, MDLXXXI).

<sup>18</sup> M. Antonii Mureti Presbyteri, I. C. et civis Romani, *Orationes, Epistolae, et Praefationes. Tomus secundus. Duo volumina Epistolarum continens, et Praefationes*, Ex Typ. Berniana, Roboreti MDCCXXXVII; ora nella Biblioteca dell' *Archivio della Casa Santa dell'Annunziata di Sulmona*, segn. 390.

<sup>19</sup> *Ed. cit.*; la lettera a Marc'Antonio Ciofano alle pp. 101s., quella al Roscio a p. 103 (entrambe in data 22 luglio 1570).

che il Roscio, *suauiissimus adulescens*, frequentava il Seminario romano ed era anche in stretto rapporto di amicizia con Marc'Antonio Ciofano (cui si doveva pure il legame con Paolo Manuzio, visto che il Muret pregava di salutargli quest'ultimo nel caso si trovasse ancora a Roma); l'altra, invece, ci consente di acclarare come il Roscio, poeta di certo precoce, fosse stato presentato in tal veste al Muret dal suo allievo Hercole, fratello minore di Marc'Antonio, e merita di essere riportata per esteso :

M. Antonius Muretus Iulio Roscio S.D.

Ex elegiis, quas a te nuper accepi, dici non potest, quantum ceperim voluptatis, non tantum quia me laudabant, (etsi ἡδίστον ἄκουσμα ὁ ἑπαινος) sed quia id elegantissime venustissimeque faciebant. Omnino multa mihi Hercules noster de ingenio tuo, deque praestantia in pangendis versibus dixerat : sed tu eam opinionem, quam ego ex ipsius sermonibus de te conceperam, longe multumque superasti. Vere hoc tibi adfirmo ; nullum a multis iam annis vidi aequalem tuum, quem tecum in hoc genere conferendum putem : neque dubito, si perrexeris, quin possis aliquando inter optimos huius saeculi Poetas censi, insignemque tuo capiti petere inde coronam. Vnde prius paucis velarint tempora musae [Lucr. I 929-30 = IV 4-5]. Sin te, quod fore auguror, gravius aliquod studium, progrediente aetate, ab amoenitate poematum abduxerit, tamen te, mi Rosci, optime & suavissime, hortor, ne Musas unquam plane deseras, neve unquam ita te addicas cuiquam illarum severioris, ut ita dicam, supercilii artium, ut non tibi identidem ex Musarum cantibus si nihil aliud, petendam certe graviorum cogitationum allevationem putes. Neque te hoc facturum esse diffido. Μοῦσαι γὰρ ὅσους ἴδον ὁμᾶτι παῖδας, Ἄχρι βίου πολλοὺς οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους. A me vero ut posthac omnia officia expectes, quae ab homine amicissimo expectari possunt, te etiam atque etiam oro. Cum istuc rediero, erit mihi gratissimum, si interdum ad me, quod modo permissu eorum fiat, apud quos educaris, ventites ; meque ac rebus omnibus meis aequè libere utaris ac tuis. Spero autem consuetudinem sermonesque nostros ad istam ipsam laudem, ad quam adspiras, consequendam tibi non prorsus inutiles fore. Vale mi Rosci, tibi que persuade, te a me plane in filii & quidem ὀψιγόνου loco amari. XI. Kal. Sextil. MDLXX. Litteras, quas cum his accipies, peto ut Ciofano, cum primum poteris, reddendas cures. [Le citazioni greche sono Xen., *Mem.* II 1-31 e Callim., *Epigr.* 21.5-6]

A stare al tono generale, è evidente come il Muret risulti colpito dalla *facilitas* versificatoria del giovane Roscio ; i termini in cui lo dichiara sono infatti molto al di sopra della normale predisposizione che egli ha in altre occasioni mostrato nei confronti dei giovani ingegni

in cui gli occorreva di imbattersi, e di cui pur lamentava il generale misconoscimento da parte dei mecenati romani del tempo in un'epistola ad Ercole Ciofano dell'anno avanti<sup>20</sup>. Di qui l'invito a frequentarlo spesso, una volta che sarà tornato a Roma, beninteso col permesso dei suoi educatori, e l'assicurazione a convincersi che non solo lo ama ma addirittura lo considera come un figlio. In pratica, ci sono tutte quante le premesse per un rapporto solido, per una nuova adozione duratura, spirituale e culturale; e ce ne fornisce conferma un'altra lettera, di poco successiva, scritta il 5 ottobre dello stesso anno, in cui la familiarità ha ormai raggiunto i toni spontanei della consuetudine presto assunta, e il discorso verte insistito sul futuro del Roscio, sui suoi progressi nello studio del greco, nonché sulla ventilata decisione di abbracciare infine gli studi superiori di filosofia :

(M. Antonius Muretus Iulio Roscio S.D.)<sup>21</sup>

In hac commutatione consilii de instituenda ratione studiorum tui, nihil me magis sollicitum habet, quam quod nescio, quos progressus in Graecis litteris feceris. Quarum sine mediocri saltem cognitione cave putes ad ullam doctrinae praestantiam perveniri. Eis si ita imbutus es, ut possis Aristotelem suapte lingua loquentem intelligere, eiusque etiam interpretes Graecos, sine cuiusquam interpretatione latina consulere, non invitus patiar te ad studia Philosophiae gradum facere; etsi, ut verum fatear, Demostheni, Thucydidi, Herodoto, Xenophonti, & huius generis scriptoribus, praetereaue Poetis Graecis annum adhuc unum dari maluissem. Volo equidem, quidquid ages, prospere tibi, ac feliciter evenire: sed tamen non committam, ut si absque illo instrumento te ad Philosophiam contuleris, dicere umquam possis, Muretum tibi eius consilii auctorem fuisse. Neque haec a me ita disputantur, quasi tibi in hiis litteris, quae humaniores dicuntur, consensendum arbitrer. Longe semper ab ea sententia meus abfuit animus: sed tu & ea aetate es, ut properare non debeas: & eo ingenio, ut, si firma ac solida doctrinae fundamenta ieceris, ad summa omnia facile perventurus esse videaris. Nam quod ais, sine eloquentia multos ad summam amplitudinem pervenisse, sine sapientia neminem; verius dixisses & sine sapientia, & sine eloquentia, & sine ullo vero bono multos ea, quae vulgo habentur amplissima, & olim consecutos esse, & quotidie consequi. De quibus constitueram hoc loco pluribus disserere, sed avocor. Tres enim hic habemus Cardinales, Augustanum, Varmiensem, Alcium; qui mihi omne prope tempus eripiunt. Mi Rosci, ignosce occupationibus meis & vale. Tibure. III. Non. Octobr. MDLXX.

<sup>20</sup> Ed. cit., p. 100: *Video hic quotidie homines adolescentes optimo ingenio, amabilissimis moribus, mediocri utriusque earum linguarum, quae in pretio sunt, intelligentia; qui, cuius domi vivant, reperire neminem possunt.*

Quasi a confermarci l'importanza del dettato di questa lettera, il Roscio sarebbe tornato molti anni dopo a citarla e a riecheggiarne i termini quando, nella prefatoria all'*Index* compilato per il *Seneca* postumo del Muret, avrebbe rapidamente ripercorso le tappe fondamentali del suo apprendistato romano :

Fueram in florentissimum Romanum Seminarium puer receptus, iamque decurso politiorum literarum stadio in philosophiae arenam descenderem, cum mihi Mureti familiaritatem inire magno emolumento concessum est, ex eo enim tempore me hortari coepit, ac litteris etiam, quae in luce hominum versantur, benigne monere, vt non vulgarem philosophandi tenerem viam...<sup>22</sup>

Da questo momento, pur se non possediamo molti altri dati, è certo che la carriera del Roscio si svolse nella cerchia del Muret e, per vari aspetti, fu in più momenti legata a quella di Hercole Ciofano. Entrambi godevano stabilmente del favore del potente maestro, entrambi ponevano sul piatto della bilancia le personali qualità nel far fruttare per la propria carriera letteraria il prestigioso avallo e la fitta rete di collegamenti che il Muret era in grado di assicurare in ogni direzione. In siffatto ambito, tra Venezia Padova Ferrara c'era l'esito pressoché obbligato costituito da Aldo Manuzio *jr*: personaggio non esente da parecchie ombre, spesso poco cristallino in certe profferte ed assicurazioni di amicizia, sarebbe rimasto legato al Roscio sino alla fine, mentre le cose andarono presto diversamente col Ciofano che pur sembra essere stato il tramite del rafforzarsi del rapporto fra i due<sup>23</sup>; certo è, comunque, che se il Roscio mai pubblicò suoi lavori con i tipi manuziani, Aldo *jr* non cessò mai di tenerlo nel debito conto in virtù

<sup>21</sup> *Ed. cit.*, pp. 102s.

<sup>22</sup> *L. Ann. Seneca a M. Mureto correctus et notis illustratus ...*, Romae, Apud Barth. Grassium, 1585 (in fine: Romae, apud Franc. Zanettum, 1586).

<sup>23</sup> Il nome del Roscio ricorre in tre lettere del Ciofano ad Aldo *jr*: il 5 marzo 1580: "Vi mando un plico di M. Giulio Rosci et ui è drento quella cosa, che ui mostrò già qui quest'ottobre."; il 9 aprile 1580: "Harrei desiderato che mi hauesti haisato della riceuta dell'inscritioni, che già ui mandai, et insieme con esse certe cose di M. Giulio Roscio, che mi ne ha domandato più d'una uolta."; Il 17 settembre 1580, accingendosi a raggiungere Aldo *jr*. a Venezia: "Ho già fatto fascio di tutti quelli scritti, che ho potuto hauere, con speranza di hauerne delli altri per strada et mezzi del Roscio, che così mi ha promesso." (cfr. E. Pastorello, *Inedita manutiana 1502-1597. Appendice all'Inventario*, Istituto per la collaborazione culturale Venezia-Roma, Venezia 1960, pp. 468, 471, 481) — i motivi della rottura definitiva all'inizio dell' '81 fra il Ciofano e il Manuzio vanno ricercati nella delusione del primo per gli incarichi veneziani, e quindi del venir meno della speranza di una definitiva sistemazione economica come da promesse ricevute.

dell'appoggio fattivo alle sue mire ad una cattedra nello Studio romano : è quanto almeno traspare con insistenza dal carteggio superstite di cui diamo di sèguito le tessere residue, ove peraltro va tenuto presente che frattanto il Roscio aveva trovato in Roma, oltre ai Della Rovere, un potente e durevole protettore nel cardinale Jacopo Savelli<sup>24</sup>.

Aldo Manuccio Paulli F. Julius Roscius S.P.D.<sup>25</sup>

Tempus est ut respondeam litteris tuis, Alde humanissime. Hunc in diem reiectus sum non tam negociorum multitudine, quibus sane non careo, aut negligentiae crimine—cuius qui me norunt non plane arguunt—aut obliuione tui, quod de amico cogitare nefas est; quam quia tibi in eo, quod a me postulaueras satisfacere nondum potui. Amicos plurimos adii; quaesiui ex eis an quod optabamus penes ipsos esset. Nusquam reperire potui; spe tamen delinitus semper aliquid reperiendi, ne inane ad te responsum darem, silentium tenui. Nunc cum noua occasio scribendi oblata sit silere penitus iniquum duxi. In Urbem euocaris, in qua uiuemus una<sup>26</sup>, atque ad id munus, in quo specimen dare maximum ingenii, doctrinaeque tuae poteris. Haec est vrbs caput Religionis, domicilium pietatis, sedes liberalium artium, parens eloquentiae, ingeniorum alumna. Gratulor tibi, mi Alde! VI Kal. Octobr., eo ipso die ac pene hora qua Obelisco Vaticano Sacrosanctae Crucis uexillum imponebatur, de te accersendo in Urbem ab amplissimis Cardinalibus decretum est. Augurari licet tibi aliquod diuinum, cui nec quidem cogitanti tantum bonum obtigerit. In eiusdem cursu facultatis comitem habebis iuuenem insignem mei amantissimum; qui etsi non primum in hanc gymnasticam arenam descendit, qui tamen excellens eius ingenium norunt, eiusque in domesticis studiis argumenta praeclarissima uiderunt, non dubitant quin summa cum laude propositam prouinciam gesturus sit. Is est Pompeius Vgonius Romanus Ciuis<sup>27</sup>, et à tenera aetate in Urbis gremio semper quidem educatus, per omnes tamen humanarum diuinarumque scientiarum oras longe lateque peruagatus. De hoc puero memini Paullum Manutium patrem tuum optimum ingenii eius initium singulare iudicium facere solitum, cuius ille teneras lucubrationes non semel in caelum extulit. Nam sicut Patris tui memoriam sancte colit, ita tibi omnia beneuolentissimi hominis officia praestaturus est. Opto ut et tu erga illum egregie uenias animatus, sitque inter uos ut studiorum sic amoris arcta coniunctio. Multi tui uisendi desiderio tenentur; sed ego imprimis, quem praeconem laudum tuarum

<sup>24</sup> Cfr. *Barb. lat.* 1967, c. 19 per il servizio presso il card. Della Rovere, e cc. 40, 47, 65 per quello presso il card. Savelli.

<sup>25</sup> Pastorello, *Inedita* cit., p. 560s.

<sup>26</sup> È fin troppo noto che la chiamata di Aldo jr a Roma incontrò poi degli ostacoli che finirono per vanificarla (cfr. Pastorello, *Inventario* cit., pp. 290s).

<sup>27</sup> A Pompeo Ugoni è dedicata tutta la prima sezione dei *Lusus pastorales*, ma frequentissimi sono i componimenti a lui indirizzati nel *Barb. lat.* 1967.

futurum scito. Vitam a te Cosmi Magni Hetruriae Ducis italico stylo editam<sup>28</sup> uidi perlibenter, in eaque ut ingenii tui praestantiam singularem, dicendi copiam sum admiratus. Quo munere ingentes tibi gratias ago, eritque mihi uti caetera quae tua sunt longe carissima. Vale et ad nos aduola. Romae, V Kal. Octob. MDXXCVI.

Aldus Manuccius, Julio Roscio S.<sup>29</sup>

In ipso discessu meo non potui non haec pauca tibi dare, quae meum tibi amorem significant, cui plurimum hac tua gratulatione de Illustrissimorum Cardinalium consensu in me ad Urbem accersendo additum esse scito. Quod ais de Crucis uexillo Obelisco Vaticano imposito, omen non reiicio, ingentesque gratias habeo, et amo amorem tuum. Cras summo mane in uiam me do ut, a Magno Duce, si fieri poterit, impetrata licentia, Bononiam redeam, et, rebus complicatis, Romam petam. Vgonium non est, quod mihi commendes. An ego, quos Pater dilexit, non amem! Non hoc a me expectes! Quaecunque a me proficisci poterunt, quibus in hominem ornatissimum testari possim amorem meum, ea ego nullo unquam tempore praetermittam. Hoc ei respondeas meo nomine rogo. Plura non possum temporis angustia.

Bononia, V Non. Oct. MDXXCVI.

Al Sig. Giulio Roscio a Roma<sup>30</sup>

Viene costì il Sig. Lelio Gavardo, mio Cugino, il quale ragionerà a V.S. di me a pieno, egli mi è più che fratello, onde a lui rimettendomi non le dirò se non che desidero che ella mi conservi nella sua gratia & mi comandi.

Da Pisa, il 1 di luglio 1587.

Iulius Roscius Aldo Manuccio S.<sup>31</sup>

Vidi Laelium tuum libentissime; literis uero tuis nihil suauius esse poterit; utrumque certe nihil minus expectatum. Petis si quid eius causa possem in aula. Obtuli operam meam, quantulumcumque sit, maxima certe, si non rem ipsam, sed animum tibi obsequendi spectes. Te ille Pisis<sup>32</sup> agere narravit, multaque, quae mihi gratissimum fuit et ab amico, et de te mei amantissimum audire. Vere non possum non summis laudibus celebrare consilium tuum de Pisana condicione,

<sup>28</sup> *Vita di Cosimo de' Medici, primo Gran Duca di Toscana, descritta da Aldo Manucci* — In Bologna MDLXXXVI (cfr. Renouard, p. 238 n. 5); per la sua investitura, il Roscio scrisse anche dei distici (*Barb. lat.* 1967, c. 32<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>29</sup> Pastorello, *Inedita* cit., pp. 561s.

<sup>30</sup> *Lettere volgari di Aldo Manucci* (Santi, Roma 1952), p. 143; come risulta da Pastorello, *Inventario* cit., s.v., il Gavardo fu strumento attivo della politica di Aldo jr nell'ultimo decennio di vita.

<sup>31</sup> Pastorello, *Inedita* cit., pp. 566s.

<sup>32</sup> In effetti, tutta la lettera del Roscio, partendo dall'esaltazione dell'incarico nello Studio pisano, tende a coprire l'insuccesso del suo adoperarsi per il progetto romano.



promouente praesertim studia tua magno Hetruriae Duce Francisco, cuius familia hoc semper habuit proprium, ut viros in omni genere literarum excellentes aluerit, eosque qui literis humanioribus oblectarentur ita euexerit, ut nulli aliorum Principum possit comparari. Nec uero munificentia Medicea continuit se intra Hetruriae fines, sed longe lateque peruagata est. Quis non meminerit Leonis X aurea saecula, quibus ut literae floruerunt, ita earum amantes honoribus abundarunt. Spes est certissima, ut te quoque tam nobilem prouinciam sortitum maiora sequantur. Euehit te, Alde sapientissime, Aldi aui tui memoria, Patris recens gloria, tuaque prolata multis annis in praecipuis Italiae gymnasiis industria singularis. Non est igitur quod de Vrbe labores; laborabit illa de te potius. Optasset quidem certe te comitem aemulus studiorum tuorum Vgonius in hac arce sapientiae<sup>33</sup>; sed tu diuturniora, solidioraque sequutus es. De rebus tuis refert Gauardus quid polliceri possim. ea tota negotiatio penitus exciderat animo, quae iam reuocata, quidquid è re tua potero, maximo studio colligi procurabo. Vale et me, Vgoniumque ut facis ama. Mitto illius orationem de Laudibus Leonis X familiae Mediceae et literarum patroni optimi ab ipso quidem auctore pene ex tempore habitam, sed in ipso die anniuersario eius exequiarum inter ipsa sacra maxima omnium acclamatione exceptam. Addidi et de eloquentia alteram in ipso ingressu studiorum sane uberem; in qua tamen nec minimum ipse defatigatus sit, et auditores ita sint oblectati, ut eorum expectationem finis fefellerit. Habes etiam carmina de cruce in uertice obelisci imposita<sup>34</sup> metro tam uarii generis, tam eleganti ut quidam cum antiquis etiam compararint, et non nulli praetulerint. De cruce eiusdem orationem non quidem habitam, sed quam ut haberet pararat in Basilica Sessoriana, leges ea dicendi forma elucubratam, quam ecclesiastici nostri Doctores sequuntur, quamque sacer ille locus, et grauitas Religionis postulare uidebatur. Vide quanti iudicium tuum ille faciat. quaecunque ei exciderunt ut ad te mitterem obnixè rogauit, tibiue salutem plurimam dicit. Iterum uale. XI Kal. Sextil. MDXXCVII.

Aldus Manutius Julio Roscio<sup>35</sup>

At vero mihi de te cogitanti allatae sunt litterae tuae, quibus petis ut si quid de Proba Falconia<sup>36</sup>, quae circumfertur apud me est, id ad te

<sup>33</sup> Per Ugoni divenuto professore alla Sapienza cfr. *Barb. lat.* 1967, cc. 41<sup>v</sup> e 65 (vd. *infra*).

<sup>34</sup> Solo uno di questi *carmina* in *Barb. lat.* 1967, c. 45<sup>v</sup> (vd. *infra*).

<sup>35</sup> A. Ceruti, "Lettere inedite latine ed italiane di Aldo Manuzio il Giovane", *Archivio Veneto* XXIV, p. I, (Venezia 1882), pp. 152s.

<sup>36</sup> Sulla figura di Proba cfr. *ibidem*, n. 1, nonché il *carmen* di *Barb. lat.* 1967, c. 94 (vd. *infra*); esiti editoriali nella medesima orbita sono confermati dall' *Epistola... ad Camillum ac Prosperum Capilupos texendorum centonum complectens* e dal *Sacrorum carminum libellus*, per cui cfr. *Catalogue Général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque* cit., pp. 913s.

primo quoque tempore mittam; velle te eius foeminae scripta admodum ingeniosa et quae sexus captum superent, denuo studiosis communicare. Probo tuam pietatem, qui patriae tuae decus quasi amissum restituas, et cum eam tu ipse ornes, addas etiam ad ornamentum, quae maxima cum sint, maiora tamen te ornante fiunt. Probam ut eam esse certo existimem, de qua in tribus antiquis inscriptionibus romanis mentio fit, facile mihi persuadeo, et quamquam haec nobis, qui res romanas assidue tractamus, satis abunde suppetant, volui tamen, ut aliquid afferre videar, ea ad te mittere, ne dum tu me satis liberalem putas, ego inofficiosus sim, et desiderari a te patiar non amorem, sed diligentiam meam. Tu interim vale, dum ego te et amicos ... invisere cupio et forsan spero.

Romae, Kalendis Junii MDXXCIX.

### III. Il *Barb. lat.* 1967

Dal censimento del Kristeller<sup>37</sup>, risulta notevole la presenza superstite di *mss* contenenti autografi del Roscio; il fondo maggiore è rappresentato da quelli della *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana* e, fra essi, specialmente i "Barberiniani" ed i "Chigiani"; restringendo l'ottica alla produzione specificamente poetica, si distingue fra tutti per consistenza e completezza il *Barb. lat.* 1967. Già noto in precedenza<sup>38</sup>, è un cartaceo autografo della fine del XVI sec.; consta di 1 ca. nn., seguita da 93 cca. numerate senza interruzione solo al *recto*, e in fine 1 ca. nn. cui si aggiungono altre 2 cca. segnate al *recto* A e B. Scritto in minuscola corsiva di tradizione umanistica chiara e ordinata sulla pagina, salvo sporadici interventi correttori dopo i *Lusus* e pochissime varianti d'autore nel testo; a margine, il Roscio è intervenuto alcune volte ad indicare con brevi chiose, in scrittura più minuta, e a tratti tachigrafica, precisazioni sui destinatari dei singoli componimenti, dell'avvenuta edizione e/o incisione su lapide quando furono composti e utilizzati a sancire la commemorazione di uno speciale evento; spesso compare la data di composizione, o dell'occasione che generò la stesura, che non oltrepassa mai il 1588 (anno che va pertanto utilizzato come *terminus post quem* per l'organizzazione del *ms*)<sup>39</sup>. Soprattutto per quanto concerne la

<sup>37</sup> *Supra*, n. 15.

<sup>38</sup> A parte la generica segnalazione di Fontanini, *De antiquitatibus* cit., p. 310 (*Varia ejusdem MSS. adservantur in Bibliothecis Barberina & Chisiana*), è citato anche in W. L. Grant, *Neo-latin Literature and the Pastoral*, (The Univ. North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 1965), p. 419.

<sup>39</sup> L'unica data più bassa, 23 nov. 1590 a c. 23<sup>v</sup>, è di evidente appartenenza ad una chiosa seriore dello stesso autore.

prima parte, il testo sembra essere stato approntato in bella copia per l'eventuale edizione a stampa; e comunque, altrettanto ordinate si presentano le ripartizioni dei gruppi di poesie per genere ed argomento, con relative indicazioni di dedica delle singole sezioni o libri che, in numero di dieci, constano di: tre sequenze di *Lusus pastorales* offerte nell'ordine *ad Pompeium Vgonium* (0-5), *Fuluium Vrsinum* (6-11<sup>v</sup>), *Aurelium Vrsium* (12<sup>v</sup>-26), di quattro epigrammatiche *ad Georgium Radiulium* (26<sup>v</sup>-35), *Hieronimum Maphaeum* (35<sup>v</sup>-44), *Audoenum Ludouicum* (44<sup>v</sup>-51), *Fabricium Carafam* (51<sup>v</sup>-57), di un *corpus* di *Tumuli ad Alphonsum Cecchonum* (57<sup>v</sup>-69), di *Elegiae ad Ludouicum de Torres* (69<sup>v</sup>-84) e di *Tyburinae ad Marcum Antonium Muretum juniorem* (84<sup>v</sup>-95). In totale, è un assemblaggio organico di 370 *carmina*, con scarsissimi casi di iterazione nella specie di:

- 1<sup>v</sup> | 13<sup>v</sup> — inc. *Huius florentes hortos ...* (1<sup>v</sup>: tit. *Jn hortos Lillae*; 13<sup>v</sup>: tit. *Jn hortulum Achillis Maphaei*): poche e non significative varianti solo in funzione dell'adattamento del *lusus* ai diversi destinatari);
- 1<sup>v</sup> | 16 — inc. *Desine fallaci ...* | *Desine secretae ...* (1<sup>v</sup>: tit. *Ad Victorillam ne siluas petat*; 16: tit. *Ad Cynthiam ne se nemorib. abdat*): adattamento della medesima struttura concettuale e metaforica, con ricchezza di varianti sintattico-lessicali;
- 10<sup>v</sup> | 47 — inc. *Jrrigui fontis custos ...* (10<sup>v</sup>: tit. *Jn Nympham ad fontem dormientem*; 47: tit. *Jn fontem Villae NouoComensis ...*): senza varianti, ad eccezione del titolo;
- 19 | 54 — inc. *Magna arbos ...* (19: tit. *Ad cardinalem de Ruere ...*; 54: tit. *Jn Vincentium Saureum card. amplissimum*): alcuni spostamenti di parole nel verso, con qualche significativa variante;
- 40<sup>v</sup> | 52<sup>v</sup> — inc. *Dum semet tereti ...* | *Doedala dum leni ...* (tit. *De Lauinia se ipsam pingente*): due coppie di distici che costituiscono palesemente due prove dello stesso componimento, quali variazione sul medesimo tema;
- 32<sup>v</sup> | 76<sup>v</sup> — inc. *Viderat e fluuio ...* (identico solo il primo verso).

Salvo prove sporadiche nei metri oraziani, domina incontrastato il distico elegiaco: utilizzando un lessico poetico ormai decantato da lunga ed esercitatissima tradizione letteraria, e facendo leva su articolazioni stilematiche che mostrano una sicura padronanza della lingua latina in stretta connessione con la funzionalità metrica e cantabile,

ma denunciano pure una eccessiva facilità di rifugio negli imprestiti dagli elegiaci latini, più spesso sopraffatti dal Virgilio bucolico e dall'Orazio lirico (nel primo caso per i *Lusus* e nel secondo per gli *Epigrammata*), il Roscio propone una tensione poetica che non è particolarmente robusta, spesso troppo d'occasione nella freddezza alessandrina; non vanno sottaciute però l'abile scorrevolezza espressiva, la capacità di fornire un latino estremamente limpido per levità in nitore di dettato, una ininterrotta possibilità di reiterato esercizio sul medesimo tema, con variazioni che sono in effetti gravitazionalmente concomitanti a riproporre vaghi modulati timbrici: e questo in specie nei brevi tasselli dei *Lusus pastorales*, in cui il mestiere virgiliano è quasi sempre ravvivato con delicatezza dalla chiamata evocativa di un paesaggio che, se è quello della scontatissima *Bucolica*, si anima pur sempre di sottolineature rurali della nativa Orte, del richiamo a luoghi troppo familiari al poeta per non sciogliersi ogni tanto, felicemente, in valida e avvertita e spontanea partecipazione elegiaca, in soffusa malinconia, in abbandono sì languido ma mai eccessivamente estenuato. Mi sembrano queste le caratteristiche più evidenti di una poesia che per molti versi non riserva né originalità né eclatanti sorprese, ma che sa d'altro canto fissare l'approdo creativo di tutta una tradizione di genere, restando sempre ad estrema eleganza di livello; in tal senso essa è in verità esemplare, proprio come cifra che — un secolo dopo, e certo con altri metodi — saprà consegnarsi come modello d'ordine al nuovo classicismo dell'*Arcadia*.

I destinatari dei singoli componimenti della seconda parte del *ms* (*epigrammata*, *elegiae* etc.) rivelano nei dettagli la complessa ed intricata galassia della Roma papalina alla fine del Cinquecento, con attenzioni specifiche ad una fitta rete di occasioni e collegamenti cortigiani che non potevano essere in alcun modo elusi; anzi, andavano vieppiù cercati da un umanista e uomo di penna che volesse darsi, oltreché un senso ed un ruolo nella società che si andava aprendo al Seicento della Controriforma, anche una necessaria stabilità economica al riparo di brusche cadute di carriera. E quindi una piccola folla di prelati, vescovi e cardinali, professori di cui si sollecitava l'indispensabile protezione; non mancano certo gli amici veri, i sodali nell'arte della versificazione e della committenza scrittoria (tra cui in primo piano quel Pompeo Ugoni che già vedemmo al centro delle raccomandazioni del Roscio nel suo carteggio con Aldo jr), come non mancano i legami residui con la cerchia del Benci e del Collegio romano nella persona di Orazio

Graziani; e non può mancare il Muret, di cui compare fra l'altro un epitafio che avrà fortuna anonima<sup>40</sup>, con una propaggine nei confronti dell'omonimo nipote, poi prematuramente morto adolescente, al quale vengono dedicate per intero le *Tyburninae*. Proprio nel momento in cui, scomparso bruscamente di scena il maestro transalpino, è ancora in atto emotivamente la sua lezione, gravido il peso del suo prestigio in eredità, il Roscio si unisce al Benci nell'opera di giusto incanalamento del suo messaggio di educatore e di filosofo entro i canoni più ortodossi dei dettami programmatici postridentini<sup>41</sup>.

Stante la congerie cospicua dei componimenti poetici, mi limito ad offrire in questa sede, come campionatura, la prima sezione dei *Lusus pastorales* (cc. 0-5); facendo però seguire ad essa il registro completo dei rimanenti, con la collocazione nel *ms*, il titolo e/o destinatario (a volte abbreviati) e l'intero primo verso; a completamento ho aggiunto l'*Index* alfabetico degli *initia*, che ritengo utile referente in vista di un futuro lavoro di censimento di tutti i componimenti del Roscio presenti nei fondi *mss*.

Ho rispettato integralmente non solo l'uso d'autore dei segni di interpunzione, ma anche la caratteristica sua libertà nella resa dei dittonghi, lasciando pertanto immutata l'alternanza *ae* | *oe* persino negli esempi in certo modo più arbitrari (ad es.: *Haeros* | *Hoeros* | *Heros*). Le pochissime, indispensabili correzioni sono indicate in nota.

L'ordine e il buono stato di conservazione del *ms* hanno anche ridotto al minimo la necessità di segni diacritici: (...) indica nei titoli abbreviazione del curatore, [\*\*\*] parole risultate illegibili, < > parole cancellate dall'Autore.

I-67039 Sulmona (Aq.)

Via Silvestro di Giacomo 10.

<sup>40</sup> Lo si ritrova stampato a partire dal *Seneca* cit., curato postumo dal Benci, sotto il ritratto del maestro in antiporta, fino all'ed. *Roboreti* MDCCXXXVII cit.

<sup>41</sup> Cfr. il già citato *Index* al *Seneca*, ove, dopo un caldo elogio dello scomparso, si puntualizza il senso dell'operazione editoriale: *Ego vero Iacobi Sabelli Cardinalis amplissimi in primis consilium secutus, qui in iis, quae ad prauitatem haereticorum coerendam, ac conseruandam religionis dignitatem pertinent, vigilantissimus est; operae pretium duxi & de hoc primum admonere lectorem, & eorum errorum, qui apud Senecam reperiuntur, exempla quaedam, e quibus alii intelligi possint, indicare.*

0 JULII ROSCII HORTINI | LUSUS PASTORALES | AD POMPEIUM  
VAGONIUM ROMANUM | VATEM CELEBERRIMUM.

0<sup>v</sup> (*sine titulo*)

Quos tibi Pastorum lusus deuotus Jolas  
Dedicat Vgoni gloria Pieridum,  
Hos cecinit, feruens urit dum Syrius agros  
Quà celeber placidis Albula fertur aquis.  
Tu calamos ne sperne leues, fragilesque cicutas.  
Est etiam in tenui munere magnus amor.

1 *In recessum Hortinum*

Jrrigui fontes, et dulcia rura parentum,  
Terraque delicias inter habenda meas :  
Te salices, oleaeque; et iunctae uitibus ulmi  
Velat et Herculeis populus alba comis :  
Te pirus, atque nuces et odora cydonia ditant;  
Et Ceres, et pleno Copia larga sinu.  
Quis neget egelidos fontes duxisse Napaeas,  
Aruaque Pomonae culta fuisse manu?

*In fontem Pineum*

Hic fons est, cuius latices placuere Camaenis,  
Cuius et è puro Delius amne bibit.  
Hic cytharas Pan appendit, calamosque sonantes,  
Hic et siluarum dulcia plectra Deae.  
Murmure dum rauco fons perstrepat, assonat aether,  
Assonat et plausu Tybridis unda suo.  
Ò fons illustris claro tu dignus olympo  
Quando tot Diuûm perluis ora uadis.

*Tybris ad Victorillam*

Hortinos qui lambit agros uagus Albula lymphis  
Labitur, et tacito per mea rura pede  
Vt Victorillam uidit; splendore nitenti  
Perfusus proprijs condidit ora uadis.  
Atque ait ò Venus, aut Veneris de stirpe fluenta  
Haec cole. Perpetuo seruiat unda tibi.  
Applausere una nymphae, cantumque dedere.  
Haec nos de fluuijs ducet in astra Dea.

1<sup>v</sup> *Jn hortos Lillae\**

Huius florentes hortos ingressus agelli  
 Dic salve, et dominae dic bona uerba loci.  
 Cernis ut arridet coelum? Circumspice campos,  
 Et fontem irriguum subsilientis aquae  
 At caue surgentes flores decerpseris ullos.  
 Lumina fas solum pascere, fonte frui.

*Jn Narcissum*

Hic est ille puer, quondam quem mille puellae,  
 Mille sibi iungi quem cupiere Deae:  
 Adstitit ad fontem, seque ut conspexit in undis  
 Deperiit formae captus amore suae.  
 Lumina nigra uidet, sparsumque in crinibus aurum,  
 Inque genis spectat lilia mista rosis.  
 Carpitur igne suo Narcissus. Desinit esse,  
 Et secus irriguas flos nitet almus aquas.  
 Quid non forma potest, si semet loedit amator,  
 Vritur et specie si puer ipse sua?

*Ad Victorillam ne siluas petat*

Desine fallaci solam te credere siluae;  
 Plena est occultis inuia silua dolis.  
 Desine Victorilla: caue ò siluestria monstra;  
 Capripedes Satyri coeca per antra latent.  
 Hos nisi formidas, saltem te coesus Adonis,  
 Terreat et rapti casus acerbus Hylae.

2 *Amyntae casus*

Fallaces auibus laqueos dum nectit Amyntas,  
 Retiaque in uiridi gramine tenta latent;  
 Ecce pedem illaqueat spiris ingentibus anguis;  
 Loetifero morsu tactus et ille perit.  
 Infelix auibus laqueo mortem ipse parabat,  
 Nec solito laquei uulnere pressus obit.

*Ad hyemem ne loedat Liuillam*

Candida hyems tibi terra tuos populatur honores,  
 Et liquidas gelido frigore durat aquas;

\* 1<sup>v</sup> ad marg. sin. est alibi repetitum (cfr. 13<sup>v</sup>)

Pura tamen facie non sole ardente peruris,  
 Dum pratis errat Liuia pulchra meis :  
 Nec sudore genas, nec crinem puluere turpas;  
 Pallida nec tristi pectora febre quatis.  
 Te precor hoc unum, rigeant ne labra puellae,  
 Purpureus niueo neu cadat ore decor.  
 Illa tibi nectet uernantia sarta sub umbris  
 Cum placida optati tempora Veris erunt.

*In Veris ortum.*

Ridentes nitidum dum Ver aperitur in auras,  
 Laetaque se uario flore coronat humus;  
 Nympha reuisit agros, gelidaque tepente pruina  
 Aethere iam ducit lucidiore choros.  
 Ergo age quid properas? Nostros Ver incole campos.  
 Quid mutat toties improba terra uices?

2<sup>v</sup> *Ad fontem in discessu Lillae*

Ô fons irrigue ô fonti uicina canoris  
 Silua comis circum dum strepit aura iugis  
 Me iuuat et moesta modulari carmen auena,  
 Et prope te querulae tangere fila lyrae.  
 Nam mihi quid reliquum, Lilla sine, dulce, relicto,  
 Quae fuerat uitae maxima cura meae  
 Dij nemorum exaudite alti suspiria cordis,  
 Vosque ferae lacrymis illacrimate meis.

*Dictinnae sacrum*

Hos arcus, haec tela tuo Dictinna sacello  
 Suspendo haec canibus cornua nota meis.  
 Diua precor, pingues uenatibus annue praedas,  
 Dirige et in celeres spicula torta feras,  
 Illarum exuias, illarum tergora, et ungues  
 Aris semper erunt dona dicata tuis.

*In obitum Victorillae*

Hoc Victorillam tumulo prope Tybridis undam  
 Textit Acon curas, deliciasque suas.  
 Illo flente simul tristes fleuere Camaenae  
 Tristibus et charites immauere genis.  
 Luxit Amor, luxitque Venus, nymphaeque propinquae  
 Auditae querulos ore ciere modos.



Hinc lacrymis auctus solito magis assonat amnis,  
Flens Victorillae funera acerba suae.

3 *Ad Amorem se lauante*

Arcu deposito, pharetra, iaculisque relictis  
Membra renidenti fonte lauabat Amor :  
Liuilla aduertit; pharetram rapit. excitus inde  
In medium excurrit pectoris ignis edax.  
Scilicet attactu armorum, et coeco igne Cupido  
È medijs flammis eiacular aquis.

*De Victorilla extincta*

Extinctam Victorillam moestissima Nais  
Ad tumulum flebat, quem Tybris amne rigat.  
Victa dolore cadit : comites uidere iacentem.  
Quid miserae faciant? omnia uincit Amor.  
Ambas urna tenet grandis prope littus. Vtramque  
Nereides sanctis et uenerantur aquis.

*Ad Lillam pro Amore*

Quem cernis duram ad quercum post terga reuinctum,  
Ille Amor est toto pectore candidulus.  
Te uocat, amplexusque tuos petit. Aurea solue  
Vincula, et inuicto parce puella Deo.  
Tu pharetram redde oranti sua spicula, et arcus.  
Sat si pro telis lumina Lilla geras.

*In somnum*

Somne ueni : placidus fessis allabere membris,  
Somne ueni. Inuitat te leue murmur aquae.  
Ecce uenit; furtim sese in praecordia condit,  
Fer puer huc gelida pocula tincta niue.  
3<sup>v</sup> Vina graui dement mordaces pectore curas,  
Dulcior irrepit fonte sonante quies.

*Victorillae tumulus.*

Victorilla iacet tumulo hoc certare canendo,  
Doctaque Pieriae plectra mouere lyrae.  
Ò quoties illi uictus formosus Apollo,  
Ò quoties cessit uertice nata Jouis.  
Ò uere Dea. Sint calami tibi plectra, lyraeque,  
Et nemus aeterna fronde coronet humum

Pendeat è pinu Zephyris inflata cicuta,  
Quae fleat. Heu tumulo hoc docta puella iacet.

*Jn Phoebi et Daphnes transformationem*

Vidit ut igne calens, ictusque Cupidinis arcu  
Phoebus per longae littora Thessaliae  
Te primum patulis protendere brachia ramis  
Daphne, et coeruleis pectora corticibus  
Complexus uiridesque comas, complexus et ora  
Mutata in truncum sic ait illacrymans.  
Et uos ite mea in duros ò brachia ramos,  
Inque pedes radix expatiere licet.  
Quod si fata negent. Viuat mihi reddita Daphne,  
Atque agat optatos loeta per arua choros.

*Ad Lillam ne è fonte bibat.*

- Ad fontem Liuilla ueni qua murmurat unda  
Qua leuis arboreis sibilat aura comis.  
4 Sola ueni, foedosque greges hinc pelle. Vagari  
Hac solet, et tota nocte quiescit Amor.  
Victorilla bibit fonte hoc dum candida Aconem  
Errantem sequitur per fera lustra suum.  
Tu sacri fontis latices uenerata : labellis  
Ne tange. Jn gelido gurgite flamma latet.

*Jn Hylam aquis mersum*

Pulcher Hylas dum forte urna male cautus inani  
Haurit ab extremo gurgite fontis aquam  
Labitur infelix praeceps, urnamque sequutus  
Occuluit fontis lapsus in ima oculos.  
Spectabant Dryades trepidanti pectore circum.  
Obuia protenso tegmine Nais adest.  
Hoc reor optastis Nymphae : quò pocula uobis  
Misceat infuso nectare pulcher Hylas.

*Ad Amorem dormientem*

Dum placidum ad fontem, lenique instratus in alga  
Fessus Amor dulci membra sopore leuat  
Nympha uagans, quae loesa prius fuit, icta dolore  
Eripit atque arcus, eripit atque faces.  
Nec mora. Flamma furit teneras spatia medullas  
Lillaque solliciti nescia amoris amat.

Ne solum uigilem timeas : ne despice inermem.

Et somno pressus spicula torquet Amor.

4<sup>v</sup> *Epitaphium Liuillae*

Non unquam infestae soluant tua stamina Parcae

Sola animo, atque oculis Liuia grata meis.

Hoc uideo ; sed fata negant, quia cuique sepulcri

Certa dies. Heu heu tu quoque puluis eris.

Ergo ego tunc lacrymans muto sub marmore manes

Condam quà placidas Albula uoluit aquas.

Inscribam et tumulo saeui monumenta doloris,

Carmina, quae fluuij plurima nympha legat.

Moestus Acon tumuli sacro hoc me donat honore.

Illiis, extincta me, quoque uiuit amor.

*In Nympham fontis custodem*

Hic molli indulgens tamno segura quiescit

Nympha loci ad murmur dulce cadentis aquae.

Eminet in uitreo pellucens amne lapillus,

Et concha è uario tincta colore micat.

Additur et fonti decus ingens : ipsa sub undis

Pulchrrior arridens reddit imago Deam.

Hic amens, stupidusque hoerens miratur utramque

Oblitus pastor fonte leuare sitim.

Tantum forma mouet uana sub imagine tantum

Excisa in duro marmore Diua potest.

*Tumulus Panos pastoris.*

Hic est frondentis pastor bonus accola montis,

Qui uigil intonsum duxit in arua gregem.

5 Hic ille est qui uidit Pana canentem ;

Cuius et è prisco nomine nomen habet.

Illiis attritos calamos tractauit, et illum

Ad numeros ausus saepe uocare suos.

Quisquis ades tumulum uiolis, et fronde corona.

Non minimum Panos fistula honoris habet.

*(sine titulo)*

Haec ego cantandi studio, non laudis amore

Jactabam rabido dum furit igne Canis :

Aeterna at Musae uelant tibi tempora fronde ;

Et summum laudis gloria pandit iter.

Jbi sacer excelso tibi uertice Vaticanus;  
 Et septem plaudit Roma superba iugis.  
 Sat mihi; mirentur si me mea rura canentem  
 Et cingant humiles rustica sarta comas.

5<sup>v</sup> (*vacat*)

6 JULI ROSCIJ HORTINI | LUSUS PASTORALES | AD JLL.  
 FULUIUM VR SINUM ROMANUM | VRBIS ANTIQUARIUM ET |  
 CANONICUM LATERANENSEM

6<sup>v</sup> (*vacat*)

7 (*sine titulo*)

Dum solers Fului latebris monumenta priorum

7<sup>v</sup> *Pastor educit gregem in agrum*

Mane nouum. Nitidum profert pastoribus astrum

*Ad Phoebum pro frugibus*

Phoebe pater qui prata foues, qui densa relaxas

*Thyrsis tumulus*

Hoc Thyrsis tumulo tegit cantare sub umbris

8 *Jnuitat Myconem ad uenandum*

Nox silet. Argutis resonat uicinia grillis,

*Jn Echo*

Nympha cauernosi peragras quae deuia montis,

*Lyconis Vatis commendatio*

Has tibi serpentes hederas cum bacchare nectam

8<sup>v</sup> *Herpylus aequore mersus*

Herpylus aequoreas propter dum luderet undas,

*Ad culicem ut Lycidam excitet*

Parue culex, dilecte culex dum nocte serena

*Jn die natali ad Phoebum*

Nascere Phoebe pater sic sis pulcherrimus usque

9 *Nympha ad fontem Faicium*

Fons nitidum umbrosa spargit sub ualle liquorem,

*Myrti deploratio*

Myrtus odorata Hortinis sub collibus orta,

*Lupus à canibus laniatus*

Nocte sub obscura solus gelidoque sub axe

9<sup>v</sup> *Amphyllion in fontem*

Errabat puer Amphyllion dum noctis opacae

*Caprae beneficium celebratur*

Aestus erat cum sol radijs incensus acutis

- Euocat Damonem et Amyntham in aream*  
 Cernis ut ardenti praecurrit Syrius igne;  
 10 *Deplorat agnos subreptos*  
 Depulsos quicumque suis è matribus agnos  
*Ad Palem pro messe*  
 Tu testis me sancta Pales lustrasse quotannis  
*Jn indicis transformationem*  
 Index contempto pro numine terminus arua  
 10<sup>v</sup> *Ad Bacchum*  
 Huc ades ò Lenaee, tibi sit texta corymbis  
*Monet Alconem ut pomarium custodiat*  
 Hos tibi care Alcon nascentis ruris honores,  
*Jn Nympham ad fontem dormientem*  
 Irrigui fontis custos hìc nymphea quiescit  
 11 *Ad Etesias*  
 Huc dulces aurae pennis per inane citatis  
*Jn quercum è caelo tactam*  
 Haec quercus quondam fuerat sacrata Tonanti  
*Lilla in Lilia conuersa*  
 Abscessu moerens dilecti Liuia amantis  
 11<sup>v</sup> *Reducit gregem in caulas*  
 Hesperus auratum coeli de uertice crinem  
 12 *(vacat)*  
 12<sup>v</sup> JULII ROSCII HORTINI | LUSUS PASTORALES | AD AURELIUM  
 VRSIUM | AMICUM SUAUISS.  
 13 *Jnuocat Pana*  
 Ò Pan ille tuus numeris cantatus Amynthas  
*Lillae obitum pastor lacrimatur*  
 Monte sub hoc duro pastor sua prata tuetur,  
*Jn Laurum hedera ornatam ac myrtum*  
 Et circum te hedera assurgens pulcherrima laure  
 13<sup>v</sup> *Jn Calathos Amerinos*  
 Hos subter calathos, et lento uimine uinctus  
*Alcon ad Lucillam*  
 Mille sub hoc Alcon tibi pascit monte capellas,  
*Jn hortulum Achillis Maphaei*  
 Huius florentes hortos ingressus agelli  
*Pastor furens*  
 Hac te sub quercu expecto fidissima coniux

- 14 *Alcon ad Callhyroem*  
 Parce metu mea Callhyroe non tegmine quercus  
*Ad eandem*  
 Horret adhuc mea Callhyroe nigrantia membra,  
*Ad eandem*  
 Aspice ut antra petat uillo praecordia Faunus
- 14<sup>v</sup> *Ad eandem*  
 Hic ades attritas mecum tractare cicutas  
*Ad eandem*  
 Nec te Callhyroe series uentura nepotum  
*Alconis casus*  
 Alcon pastorum decus ut conspexit amantis
- 15 *Ad Myconem*  
 Aspice care Mycon surgentis lumina solis,  
*Jn capram quae (...) emortua est*  
 Aspice ut icta graui capra uulnere deuia montis  
*Ad catellam Lygdae dono datam*  
 O quae cara prius somnum sub nocte silenti
- 15<sup>v</sup> *Ad Myconem de fragis dono datis*  
 Haec tibi care Mycon nullo munuscula cultu  
*Ad Aconem de fragis missis*  
 Dulcis Acon, si nomen Acon tibi rura dedere  
*De hedera uitib. inuoluta*  
 Hanc hedera inuoluens uitem tua munera Bacche  
*Ad Bacchum*  
 Has tibi Bacche Pater maturas uitib. uuas
- 16 *Jn barbam hominis germani simillimam racemi*  
 Dum pedibus dulces calcat sordentibus uuas  
*Ad Cynthiam ne se nemorib. abdat*  
 Desine secretae solam te credere siluae
- 16<sup>v</sup> *De Laurente nympha calathorum artifice*  
 Albula ubi irriguo spatiatur flumine, et una
- 17<sup>rv</sup> (vacant)
- 18 *Tumulus Lepidi Cataldi Hortini*  
 Hortino digressus agro pietatis amore  
*Jn Federicum Borromaeum creatum Card.*  
 Dum patruī\* Federice premis uestigia laudum

\* 18 supra *fratris*

- Ad P. Laurentium (...) Tascam*  
 Laurenti cui fronde comas pulcherrima laurus
- 18<sup>v</sup> *Ad Jo. Franciscum Bordinum J.C. et collegij graegoriani Curionem*  
 Carmina quae tenui plectro cecinere coronas,  
*Ad Hieronymum Mafaeum Prodatarium creatum (...)*  
 Insignis iuuenis, qui per uestigia auorum  
*In D. Juliani imaginem ad Federicum card. (...)*  
 Istria quem genuit, Decij quem compulit ira
- 19 *Pro Bibliopola in aeditione (...)*  
 Quae pono ante tuas plantas pater optime Xyste  
*Ad cardinalem de Ruere (...)*  
 Magna arbos spectata comis, deuota triumphis  
*Ad P. Jacobum Cuiacium (...)*  
 Qui puerum, urentemque sacras Heliconis ad undas
- 19<sup>v</sup> *Ad Jll. et Re. mum Audoenum Ludouicum electum episcopum (...)*  
 Haec lux quae Blasium pugnantem excepit Olympo  
*Ad Jll. Audoenum Vatem (...)*  
 Ornarant te Pierides Ludouice corona  
*Ad Aud(o)enum episcopum Cassanensem creatum*  
 Letitie mira signa plus noua signa cohorsque
- 20 *In episcopum Cassanen.*  
 Quis non hunc niueo diem lapillo  
*Ad Audoenum Ludouicum Britannum episcopum*  
 Quas tibi Xystus oues Cassani ad rura uagantes
- 20<sup>v</sup> *In uentu epi.i cassanen.*  
 Jbis ad extremos celeri pede rura Britannos  
*Disticon*  
 Tenebis Ludouice lupos uirtute Britannos  
*Amici nomine ad Monteualentem*  
 Qui septem sese attollit sub collibus Vrbis
- 21 *Ad Xystum V Pont. Max. jn Thesaurum (...) Castoris Durantis*  
 Has tibi Xyste Pater, quamuis maiora merenti  
*Ad Xystum V Pont. Max. De eiusdem liberalitate (...)*  
 Quos fera barbaries, Christoque inimica cathenis
- 21<sup>v</sup> *In discessu Pompei Vgoni ex urbe (...)*  
 Aduentum Ausonio positas in littore cellas  
*Ad Phoebum in eiusdem itinere*  
 Astrorum princeps, Pindique magister, et idem

- Jn eiusdem in Vrberum reditum*  
 Vgoni reditu nitidis caput extulit undis
- 22 *Jn Calendas Januarias*  
 Janus adest sit fausta dies et lumine amico  
*Ad Alconem de cal. sextilis*  
 Alcon optatae Augusti uenere calendae
- 22<sup>v</sup> *Jn Antonium Perez à secretis Regis Philippi*  
 Te Bellona suum iactabat feruida campis  
*Jn sphoerulam Tarquinij Palatij (...)*  
 Quis caeli, caelique omnes uariabiles oras
- 23 *Ad Jll. um Jo. Demetrium Archiepiscopum Leopoliensem (...)*  
 Vt te Sarmatia digressum maenia Romae  
*Jn Melancholiam*  
 Quid segnis tenues memor subrepis in artus  
*Jn mulierem beluam quae filium comedit*  
 Aestuat Hebraeae dubio dum pectore flamma
- 23<sup>v</sup> *Ad Jll. um Demetrium Oratorem Poloniae Regis consolatio (...)*  
 Siue imber rapidus ruat
- 24 *De pace Philippi Regis cum Belgis inita*  
 Labere pax zephyris medium per inane citatis  
*Jn Andream Viseum equitem Melitensem creatum*  
 Artibus Andreas placidis eductus Vises
- 24<sup>v</sup> *Ad Pompeium Vgonium dum doctor (...) crearetur*  
 Rumpe moras, quae siderei stas limine Olympi  
*Jn Pyramidem Circi Vaticani (...)*  
 Hanc Xystus molem tenebrosa in parte latentem  
*Jn P. Marini discessum in Siciliam*  
 Palladis insignem studijs ad clara Marinum
- 25 *Jn Pompeium Vgonium uictorem solutae orationis*  
 Quod te docte puer candor, quod gloria fandi  
*Jn munus auro intextum Laurae Vgoniae (...)*  
 Penelope longum telae pertesa labores  
*Aliud*  
 Aurea quae Vgoniae mittuntur munera Laurae
- 25<sup>v</sup> *Ad Catarillam Constantia Varesina F. Suauiss.*  
 Nasceris has propter formosi Tybridis undas  
*Jn insigne Jodoci seggesser, equitis Aurati (...)*  
 Quae nitida assurgunt flauentes casside aristae



- 26 *Ad Flauium Cecium Sem. Romani alumnum (...)*  
 Dum nouus ingrederis rutilanti in ueste Sacerdos  
*In ruinas Albae ditionis Sabellorum*  
 Hic ubi delicias Regum longoeua uetustas
- 26<sup>v</sup> GEORGIO RADIUILO CARD. AMPLISS. ATQ. | HORTINAE VRBIS  
 GUBERNATORI | OPTATISSIMO | JULIUS ROSCIUS D.D. | MDXXCVI.  
 MENSE | OCTOBRIS.
- 27 (*sine titulo*)  
 Dum petis Hortinos campos, ubi rura meorum,  
*Ad arcum qui primus extra moenia occurrit Angelus (...)*  
 Salue purpurei splendor Radiuile senatus  
*Postquam ad portam Rom. peruenit Roma (...)*  
 Quam penes imperium mundi fuit incluta Roma
- 27<sup>v</sup> *Praetereunte ante fores templi D. Augustino (...)*  
 Pro foribus templi te Radiuile saluto  
*Vbi forum attigit quo in loco magistratuum Ciuitatis tribunal (...)*  
 Illa ego cui legum concessa est summa potestas  
*Hortina ciuitas palatij limina ingredientem (...)*
- 28 Quam petis Vrbs Hortina adsum tibi maxime Princeps  
*De Ponte ab Augusto Tyberi imposito in agro Hortino (...)*  
 Hunc niueo pontem Coesar de marmore struxit
- 28<sup>v</sup> *Nympha lacus Vadimonis (...)*  
 Nympha gemo, cuius sedes Vadimonis in unda,  
*De D. Bernardini templo (...)*  
 Hoc cliuo assurgit collis caeloque minatur,  
*Affigatur ad fontem*  
 Cernis ut Hortinis strepuit de fontib. unda,
- 29 *Hortanum in finibus Hetruriae loetatur*  
 Vnde nouum sese profert iubar, unde sereno  
*Aliud*  
 Salue magne\* Heros nostro decus addite caelo  
*Aliud pro pop. Hortino*  
 Auratos Radiuile ornat cui purpura crines,
- 29<sup>v</sup> (*vacat*)
- 30 *De Pompeo Vgonio disputante*  
 Vt uidit pugnantum acies, atque agmina Pallas

\* 29 ms *magnae*

*Nocturni ignes Romae*

Ceu micat astriferi facies nitidissima Olympi

*Perdix ad Jll. um card. Maphaeum*

Per salices humiles, et circum prata meorum

30<sup>v</sup> *Ad Alexandrum Riparium Rom. quem spes praemij frustrata erat*

Insignis quando refugit mea tempora laurus

*Ad Quinctium Amerinum spe praemij reiectum*

Dum spes nulla foret palmae stat pectore tristis

*J. Roscij praemij destituti consolatio*

Moerebam sacrae fraudatus frondis honore

31 *Jn fontem Juturnae in Albano (...)*

Quae Diua fraternos fuerat miserata doloris

*Aliud*

Quisquis fonte bibis seu pastor, siue bubulcus

*Aliud*

Siste Deam uenerata loci dum fontis ad umbras

*Jn Cleopatram (...)*

Vt post demersam secus Actia littora classem

31<sup>v</sup> *Jn obitum Ducis Gallesij (...)*

Transtyberim tumulata iacent delata Faliscis

*Ad Hospitem de obitu Ducis Gallesij*

Magnanimum paruo hoc tumulo Mauortis alumnum,

32 *Ad Apollinem Pro Pompeio aegrotante (...)*

Phoebe pater si qua est Vatum tibi cura tuorum,

*Ad Petrum Rodulphum Tossinianensem (...)*

Francisci aeternam hystoriam facunde Rodulphi

*Ad Hieronymum Maphaeum (...)*

Accipe purpurei merito pars magna senatus

32<sup>v</sup> *Ad Camillum Castellanum (...)*

Et celebrat te cana fides, et recta uoluntas,

*De sacro Rom. Vrbis imperio*

Roma potens ilaris Diuûm decorata trophaeis,

*De Cosmo Medice cum in Vrbe exceptus (...)*

Viderat è fluuio spectans Tyberinus amaeno

33 *Ad Pompeium Vgonium sacerdotem creatum*

Ore faue quisquis nitidam consistis ad aram

*Julij Roscij tumulus (...)*

Hic ubi Vestales ignes nituere, Ducesque

- 33<sup>v</sup> *Tumulus Vxoris Joachini Thomasij (...)*  
 Hunc tumulum ueteri maerens in Apollinis aede  
*Jn Angelum infantem Jacobi Palutij (...)*  
 Materno è gremio prodit quando Angelus infans  
*De cocleae cantu*  
 Filius agricolae cocleas intentus ad ignem
- 34 *Jn imaginem Xysti V et Vgonis (...)*  
 Felice exultant felicia saecula Xysto  
*Jn Aurelij Vrsi Perettinam descriptam*  
 Quod per te exultat Romae decus addita uilla  
*Ad magistros Melitenses*  
 Inuicti Heroes quos claro sanguine auorum
- 34<sup>v</sup> *Jn fontem felicem in Quirinali (...)*  
 Alta Quirinali qua semita uertice longo  
*Jn Hugonis magni magistri Melitensis insignia*  
 Tybridis ad ripas ut paut lacte gemellos
- 35 *Jn imaginem Ducis Galesij (...)*  
 Quae ducis inuicti sub marmore fulget imago
- 35<sup>v</sup> JULII ROSCII HORTINI | EPIGRAMMATUM LIBER | AD R. MUM  
 HIERONYMUM MAPHAEUM | CIUEM ROMANUM ET | ACCHILIS  
 MAPHAEI ANTIQUARIJ | NEPOTEM.
- 36 *Ad Phoebum studia humanitatis ingressurus (...)*  
 Me Pindi nemora alta uocant, collesque uirentes,  
*Jll. um card. Maphaeum palumbes dono datae alloquuntur*  
 Nos quondam Veneris currus, nos esseda campis  
*Jn reditum in Vrbem Jll.i Card. Cornelij*  
 Et plaudit tibi magne Pater uagus Adria siluis,  
*Vaticinium in card. Delphinum*  
 Miretur natura undis immania Lete,
- 36<sup>v</sup> *Aliud in eundem*  
 Natus in Adriaco pulcherrimus aequore Delphin  
*Ad Augustinum Valerium Card. creatum (...)*  
 Quae prius Adriacis uolitabam proxima ripis  
*Ad Nicolaum Sfondratum Card. creatum (...)*  
 Hanc chlamydem croceo Eridanus tibi murice tinxi
- 37 *Ad Alphonsum Gesualdum card. agri Piceni legatum*  
 Jn casus dum sponte tuos ruit inclyta tellus  
*De sociorum Suauiss. in Angliam discessu (...)*  
 Pro patria ò Socij pro relligionis honore

- Jn discessum Eduardi Vmptoni ex Vrbe in Angliam (...)*  
 Dum celer Ausoniam linquis, dumque ultima Thules
- 37<sup>v</sup> *Jn Balthasarem Burgundum qui Principem Orangem occiderat*  
 Vt patriam longo conspexit Marte cadentem  
*Aliud in eundem*  
 Pro patria postquam cecidit fortissimus Haeros  
*Ad Vincentium Cansachium dum Romam rediens (...)*
- 38 *Dum supplex pia uota nouas, arasque reuisis*  
*Jn cilicij Marij Cottae Romani (...)*  
 Ardebat tenero sub pectore dira cupido  
*Aliud*  
 Vt bene diuus Amor iuuenili obsistat amori,
- 38<sup>v</sup> *Jn C. Hieronymum Gengam aegrotantem Apollini*  
 Huc adsis Vatumque pater, medicaeque repertor  
*Ad Aligerum Reatinum*  
 Aliger assiduos lunae, solisque recessus  
*Ad Tarquinium Palatium Rom. (...)*  
 Palati astrorumque obitus dimensus et ortus
- 39 *Jn Raphaelis Vrbinatis restitutam sanitatem*  
 Optabat Superum coetus te adiungere Diuis  
*Jn Bartholomaeum Tachellum de Arco iurisperitum*  
 Deiectos lacrymans arcus, ruituraque tecta  
*Ad F. Sixtum sacri Palatij magistrum*  
 Hoc solium te Xyste Pater multo ante petebat,
- 39<sup>v</sup> *Jn baptisma Thomae Roscij F. Rosati (...)*  
 Suscipis infantem dum Ferrattine, sacerdos  
*Ad eundem*  
 Quae turbata prius caelo mutata repente  
*Jn Jo. Baptistam Ludouicum Signinum*  
 Vidit ut insignem Vatem, senioque uerendum
- 40 *Jn reditum M. Antonij Mureti in Vrbem*  
 Cernis ut exultet resonanti flumine Tybris  
*Jn Pompeium Vgonium C. Rom. dum publice (...)*  
 Vgonis Phoebi placidis secesserat antris  
*Ad Jacobum Sabellum card. ampliss. (...)*  
 Magne hoeros quo cana fides uiget auspice, et ardet
- 40<sup>v</sup> *Jn Pompeium Vgonium dum ingrederetur in Sapientia (...)*  
 Aoniae amarant fontes, laurique uirentis  
*De Lauinia se ipsam pingente*  
 Dum semet tereti Lauinia pingit in orbe

- 41 *Jn Pompeium Vgonium*  
 Pellentem auratas audiuit pectine cordas  
*Jn eundem*  
 Dum uirtute tua, dum te se iactat alumno  
*De Prospero Capilupo (...)*  
 Vt te Castalio cupidum succedere\* cliuo
- 41<sup>v</sup> *Jn Angelum Sangrinum Abb. Congregationis Cassinen.*  
 Angele dum sacras cantus meditaris ad umbras  
*Jn Pompeium Vgonium professorem eloquentiae in Sapiencia*  
 Vgoni eloquij moderator docte latini
- 42 *Jn Vincentium Laurum Calabrum Montis Regalis (...)*  
 Clara arbor generosa comis, generosa trophoeis,  
*Jn Jll. Latinum Vrsinum qui obiit Romae (...)*  
 Pro patria dum bella foris gerit, inde Latinus  
*Ad Carolum Marianum Jll.mi card. J. Sabelli Oeconomum (...)*  
 Carole dum Albano distendis nectare cellas
- 42<sup>v</sup> *Jn Phoedram*  
 Vt Phoedra Hyppoliti conspexit membra iacere  
*Patientiae simulacrum*  
 Corpore quae niueo nitet hîc interrita uirgo\*  
*Jn Junium Philargirium a Fulvio Vrsino in lucem aeditum (...)*  
 Qui prius obductus tenebris, nunc surgit in auras
- 43 *Ad Jll. um Ludouicum Castaneum Regis Galliae (...) legatum*  
 Aspice ut intortis uolitet per Gallica regna  
*Ad Benedictum Mapheium (...) De Veris tempore*  
 Quò me Phoebe rapis placidi dum grata Fauoni
- 44 *Ad eundem B. Mafaeum (...)*  
 Dum ruri aduigilas quâ doctam Antenoris Urbem
- 44<sup>v</sup> JULII ROSCII HORTINI | EPIGRAMMATUM LIBER | AD R. MUM  
 AUDOENUM LUDOUICUM ARCHID. | CAMERACEN. ET A SECRETIS  
 CONGREG. IS | EPISCOPORUM
- 45 *Ad Xystum V Pont. Max. Jn aquam Felicem (...)*  
 Xyste Pater, per quem ueteres restaurat\* honores  
*Aliud*  
 Xyste Pater cuius loetatur sidere Roma,  
*Ad Xystum V Pont. Max. de obelisco Vaticano*  
 Aegypti duris moles excisa cauernis

\* 41 ms succedere

\* 42<sup>v</sup> ad marg. dext. fulget generosa uirago

\* 45 interscript. instaurat

- 45<sup>v</sup> *Jn Vellus aureum Ducis Vrbinae (...)*  
 Hoc uellus gemmisque nitens, auroque rigenti,  
*Ad Jll. um et R. um Pierbenedictum episcopum Martoranum*  
 Jam satis Ausonio perfusa est sanguine tellus,
- 46 *Jn Biuium Herculis*  
 Dextra tenet uirtutis iter, scelerumque sinistra,  
*Jn Spartanam*  
 Obuia ubi natum Spartana aspexit inermem,  
*Jn Borbonium*  
 Moenia dum premeret ueteris Borbonius Vrbis  
*Jn quendam Grammaticum*  
 Arma Virum dum forte docet flammasque magister
- 46<sup>v</sup> *Honor perditus nunquam restituitur*  
 Nauphragio amissas reparabit nauita merces  
*Aliud*  
 Exhaustam flammis reparat uir prouidus aedem,  
*Aliud*  
 Aurum si perdas facile reparatur; adeptus  
*Aliud*  
 Vt cecidit numquam assurgit, flos primus honoris\*
- 47 *Jn fontem Ruffinum in agro Tusculano (...)*  
 Quae prius exesis ludebam lympa sub antris  
*Aliud*  
 Quae prius exesis iacui lympa abdita ripis  
*Jn fontem Villae Nouo-Comensis\* olim Ciceronis (...)*  
 Irrigui fontis custos hic Nympha quiescit
- 47<sup>v</sup> *Domesticos sibi inuicem opitulari in periculis*  
 Transit Hylax; Jssa oblatrat; pugnant; cadit Jssa.  
*Aliud*  
 Vna morantes felis et canis domo  
*Aliud*  
 Forte uiam carpebat Hylax rectumque tenebat
- 48 *Aliud*  
 Paruus Hylax caudae uillis sub crura reflexis  
*Jn Antonium Perez a secretis status Regis Philippi (...)*  
 Nuncius ille Jouis uolucris mandata per auras

\* 46<sup>v</sup> post distichon italice progreditur

\* 47 interscript. *Nouo*

- 48<sup>v</sup> *Jn flores Theologiarum quaestionum Josephi Angles*  
 Vt uidit diffusa comas per candida colla  
*Jn M. Tullij statuam*  
 Pulsus in exilium iurati criminis ultor  
*Jn Carolum V Imper.*  
 Semper plus ultra dicebas Carole, tantus
- 49 *Jn Juliam Varesiam parientem*  
 Desine nigra oculos, flauo formosa capillo  
*De Catarilla Varesia dum sacro fonte tingeretur*  
 Sistitur ante aras sacro Catarilla lauacro  
*Jn eandem*  
 Pupula blanda tuae carae lux unica matris,
- 49<sup>v</sup> *Jn Pontem Palatinum a Gregorio XIII restitutum*  
 Antiquam pontis molem deiecerat undae  
*Pipiones è Tybridis undis emersi (...)*  
 Extinctos fratres subitus quos mersit in undis  
*R. mo P.F. Euangelistae Pelleo Vicario (...)*  
 Pellei iuuenis dignum te nomine monstras
- 50 *Ad R. mum P.F. Julianum Melleaneum (...)*  
 Alme Pater solus dum magna negocia tractas  
*Jn Gregorium XIII Pont. Max.*  
 Quis te magne Pater celebret, cui summa potestas,  
*Ad card. Stanislaum Hosium*  
 Stanislae pater, longinquis edite in oris
- 50<sup>v</sup> *Ad Illustriss. Card. Alex.\**  
 Magne Pater nil laudis egens at proximus illi,  
*Ad Dominicum Fontanam (...) architectum*  
 Obruta quae iacuit coeca tellure sepulta  
*Ad eundem*  
 Dum Vaticanam molem Fontana reuellis  
*Ad Ferdinandum Medicem Card.*  
 Ferdinande Pater plaudit tibi Tybridis unda
- 51 *Ad Ill. um Card. Farnesium*  
 Lilia quae seruat campis pulcherrima Roma  
*Ad Ill. um card. Cornelium*  
 Purpurea in ueste ut uidit Tyberinus ab undis

\* 50<sup>v</sup> *Alexandrum Carafam*

*Ad Bonucium ep. um Aretinum (...)*

Quem Solyma <excepit> ut regem excepit claroque triumpho

- 51<sup>v</sup> JULIJ ROSCIJ HORTINI | AD JLL. FABRICIUM CARAFAM FRATRIS  
F. | JLL. MI CARD. CARAFAE | BIBLIOTHECARIJ VATICANI. |  
EPIGRAMMATA.

- 52 *De rebus mirabilibus Puteolorum*

Hic uires natura suas expressit, et auxit

*In insignia Academicorum occultorum*

Qua te pacato pulcherrimus agmine Tybris

- 52<sup>v</sup> *De Lauinia se ipsam pingente*

Doedala dum leni Lauinia pingeret orbi

*In Michaellem Angelum pictorem*

Angele, qui miras species effingis in auro

*Pro Jll. Vincentio Casalio (...)*

Ô superum quae uecta choris, quae uecta per auras

- 53 *Precatio Ad Deum Opt. Max. ut Julio Miticinello (...)*

Ô qui cuncta tuo flectis uaga flumina nutu

*Ad Jo. baptistam Loragum in die natali (...)*

Nascitur ille puer Vatum qui arcana priorum

- 53<sup>v</sup> *B. Virgini (...) pro sanitate Herculi Fulvio restituta (...)*

Alma parens haec dona tuae do cernuus arae

*Doctoris subtilis tumulus (...)*

Fugerat in coelum meditans coelestia seorsus

- 54 *De Lucretia Romana*

Ecquid ages, niueum ut serues Lucretia pectus :

*In Vincentium Saureum card. amplissimum*

Magna arbor deuota comis, seruata triumphis,

*Julij Roscij tumulus*

Hanc propter platanum fluuio Tyberinus amaeno

- 54<sup>v</sup> *In duos fratres qui complexi (...)*

Hic bini extincti fratres dum culmine ab alto

*Aenigmata I de fama sphingis (...)*

Sphinx ego monstrum ingens pernici sidera cursu

*De Vmbra (...)*

Aspice ut atrato uolitem circumdata limbo

- 55 *Concoctio (...)*

Ille humili quamquam natus de stirpe, superba

*De Somno (...)*

Patre labore satus, nutricem agnosco quietem



- Nauis (...)*  
 Illa ego nata solo, ponto dein nupta marito  
*Tempus (...)*
- 55<sup>v</sup> Et Phoebum ac Lunam nocturnaue metior astra :  
*Ventus (...)*  
 Tu qua natus humo? Caeli quo sidere, clari  
*Mons (...)*  
 Mole sub ingenti duro et sub robore uires  
*Mare (...)*  
 Heu lacrimor titulis clarus regnisque superbus
- 56 *Vita (...)*  
 Quis miserae dat primus opem? quis nostra periclis  
*Justitia (...)*  
 Me Pax cernit blanda quies me candida regnat
- 56<sup>v</sup> *In Horatium principem creatum Academiae (...)*  
 Haec quae tunc primum pergit te Principe Horati  
*In Fratres Lancilottos*  
 Siderei fratres, duo lumina Lancillotti  
*Aliud*  
 Quae prius annoso surgebat stipite laurus
- 57 *Aliud*  
 Tybridis ad ripas, ueteremque ad Apollinis aram  
*Aliud*  
 Non sic Oebalios deuinxit foedere fratres  
*Ad Martinum Belgam (...)*  
 Appulerat pius Adriacas Martinus ad oras
- 57<sup>v</sup> JULII ROSCII HORTINI | TUMULI | AD F. ALPHONSUM CECCHONUM  
 VIRUM | ERUDITISSIMUM.
- 58 *M. Antonij Mureti tumulus*  
 Hic Marci caros cineres Roma inclyta seruat,  
*Helisabettæ tumulus*  
 Hunc tumulum Helisabetta tibi dulcissima coniux  
*Claudij Doyonis Galli*  
 Siste hospes, lacrymisque madens hoc pellege carmen
- 58<sup>v</sup> *Petri Manosij Sutринi*  
 Me Sutrinus ager genuit Saturnia tellus  
*Alius eiusdem*  
 Sutrina uetere urbe satum te Antenoris ora

- Jn obitum Pontij Galli adolescentis*  
 Vt te uidit Amor, iuuenum pulcherrime Ponti  
*De nuncio allato in Galliam de eiusdem obitu*
- 59 *Nuncius attulerat Gallis suspiria narrans*  
*Jn obitum Jll. mi Camilli Vrsini*  
 Care puer, iucunde puer, spes sola Camille,  
*Jn Veronicam Petram sanctam*  
 Audijt ut raptam Veronica funere acerbo
- 59<sup>v</sup> *Dominici Flammae tumulus*  
 Quae fuerat compressa graui sub mole, soluta  
*Pater Antenorem F. extinctum alloquitur*  
 Hunc tumulum tibi nate prior sacro crine reuulso  
*Laurentio Phaeo C. Hortini et Neapoli extincto*  
 Laurenti hunc tumulum ponit tibi marmore Julius  
*Constantia Cotta Marci F. obitum deflet*  
 Ne foret hoc saxum cineri graue moesta precatur
- 60 *Jn obitum Ludouici Coesij Abb. Clarauellensis*  
 Hanc uallem uiuum colui, uallisque recessus  
*Parenti extinctae F.*  
 Has uiolas, haecserta tibi languentia natus  
*Jn obitum Jll. mi Card. Alciati*  
 Vnge, alis, rostroque potens, interque uolucres
- 60<sup>v</sup> *Jn tumulum Lauinae Monticulae*  
 Quae tegitur saxo Virgo est. Qui marmora seruat  
*Jn obitum Francisci Antonij Sereni*  
 Tu quoque quando cadis coeli huius clara Serene  
*Tumulus Lascaris*  
 Musarum studijs et stemmate clarus Eoo  
*Jn Tumulum Nauarri*  
 Marmore sub gelido Nauarri arentia membra
- 61 *Jn obitum Ducis Roberti Ab Altaemps*  
 I. Gallesi qui rura colunt, camposque Faliscos,  
 II. Principis inuicti spes, et spes magna Quiritum
- 61<sup>v</sup> III. Robertus tumulo iacet hoc, quem flore iuuentae  
 IV. Has uiolas haecserta tibi carissime coniux
- 62 V. Siste precor quicumque Ducis monumenta sepulti  
*Jn insigne quod tulit in ludicro certamine (...)*  
 Clare animo, generose pugil seu forte cruento  
*Coniux lacrumans P.*  
 Viximus heu quondam placide dum uiuimus ambo

- 62<sup>v</sup> *In eiusdem obitum*  
Sanguine quod clarus formaque insignis et alta
- 63 *Card. Montalto (...)*  
Mons altus, dumisque rigens circumque supraque  
*Ad Jll. um card. Albanum*  
Haec Proteus tibi uera cano si cetera mendax,  
*Ad Jll. um card. Justinianum (...)*  
Arx tibi magne Pater caput inter nubila condens
- 63<sup>v</sup> *Ad Ja. Sa.\* C. ampl.*  
Ille leo impastus non explorata ferarum  
*Sapientia ex cerebro Jouis nata (...)*
- 64 Siste gradum quicumque prius contendis in Vrbem  
*Ampliss. D. no D. Joanni Demetrio archiepiscopo Leopoliensi (...)*  
Demetri, decus artium bonarum,
- 64<sup>v</sup> *Ad Pompeium Vgonium Vatem celeberrimum*  
Vgoni cytharam dum pollice tangis eburnam  
*De Lauru cur inter arbores (...)*  
Laurus Apollinea surgens pulcherrima silua
- 65 *Ad Jacobum Sabellum (...)* *pro Seminario Romano*  
Vt Martis soboles, quâ te Tyberina fluenta  
*In Pompeium Vgonium professorem studiorum humanitatis (...)*  
Sponte suas celebres praebet facundia palmas  
*In Arthemisiam Reginam Chariae*  
Coniugis extincti exequitur dum funera coniux
- 65<sup>v</sup> *In Angelum Sangrinum Abbatem Casinen.*  
Hic ubi Apollinea uernabant culmina fronde  
*R. mo P. Francisco Pannicarolae concionatori (...)*  
Terrarum qui summa uides, qui sidera torques
- 66 *Bacchi tumulus*  
Ille ego, progenies Diuûm mea fata sepulcro
- 66<sup>v</sup> *Tyberinus seu Jacobus Clauaerius (...)*  
Nox erat, et caelo in medio uaga cornua Phoebe
- 68<sup>v</sup> *In galerum Audoeni Ludouici (...)*  
Fida Numae ad Jani collem regina uolucrum  
*Ad eundem*  
Luculli dum rura canis tua praepete penna  
*Marsilia coniux Philippi de Roccha*  
Aspicias illa ego sum Gallis uix cognita, campos

\* 63<sup>v</sup> *Jacobum Sabellum*

- Jn expressam imaginem Philippi de Roccha*  
 Agnosco expressos uultus, spirantiaque ora,  
 69 *Jn Angelicam Virginem (...)*  
 Angelicis deuota choris, deuota Tonanti,  
*Ad Angelicam Argenteam matronam (...)*  
 Dum Christi tristes obitus, pallentiaque ora  
 69<sup>v</sup> JULIJ ROSCIJ HORTINI | ELEGIAE | AD JLL. ET R. MUM  
 LUDOUICUM DE TORRES. | S. LAURENTIJ IN DAMASO VICARIUM.  
 70 *Jn obitum Jll. ac R. mi Ludouici de Torres (...)*  
 Praesulis eximij moerentes funere Musae  
 71 *Jn somnium quo Antonius Varmotta (...) ab astris alloquitur*  
 Tempus erat placidae, quo grata silentia noctis,  
 73 *Ad Horatium Massarium Caspariensem*  
 Massari decus Asperiae, spes cara tuorum,  
 74 *Ad P. Franciscum Marinum S.I. in Siciliam redeuntem*  
 Accipe quas calamo tabulas, lacrimisque notau  
 75 *Ad Pompeium Vgonium (...) de malis Cydonijs*  
 Haec tibi care Mycon tenui male condita cultu  
 76 *Ad eundem (...)*  
 Exoritur lux alma, anni melioris origo,  
 76<sup>v</sup> *Jn M. Antonij Columnae Romam aduentum (...)*  
 Viderat e fluuio spectans Tyberinus amaeno  
 77<sup>v</sup> *Jn Paulli Jordani F. recens natum Proteus (...)*  
 Dicite quae Proteus cecinit per carmina Musae  
 79 *Jn eos quos uoluptas (...) Ad Aurelium Vrsum (...)*  
 Nulla mihi Aeaeae poterunt cantamina Circes  
 81 *Jn Ambrosium monachum Cassinatem (...)*  
 Dum uarias formas elephante effingis in albo  
*Ad R. mum Audoenum Ludouicum abeuntem (...)*  
 Salue spes miserae magna Britanniae  
 81<sup>v</sup> *Jn horologium Teodosij Roscij*  
 Haec quoque magnanimi curas est Principis inter  
*Aliud in ortu Solis*  
 Dum matutinum Solis mirabere cursum  
 82 *Ad Jacobum Demium Vatem insignem (...)*  
 J Demi i patriam felix Belgasque reuise  
*Ad Dominicum Saracenum medicum insignem (...)*  
 Nymphae, Vosque Aganippides puellae,  
 83 *Ad Jll. um Thomam Auali Marchionis Piscariae F.*  
 Te molli in gremio fouit placidissima Syren

- Ad Scipionem Gonzagam S. R. E. card. ampliss.*  
 Julius ingressus Pindi per amaena uireta  
*Ad Bartholum Grassium Rom. Typographum*  
 Te quoque posteritas referet, quo plurima uiuunt  
 83<sup>v</sup> *Ad Stellam Abbatem S. Paulli Vrbis*  
 Stella Quirinali radios iacit aerea colle  
*Ad Jllustriss. Prosperum Vicecomitem*  
 Audijt argutae cytharae resonantia plectra  
 84 *Aliud*  
 Viderat ille tuos ausus Mauortius Haeros  
 84<sup>v</sup> JULII ROSCII HORTINI | TYBURTINAE | AD M. ANTONIUM  
 MURETUM | JUNIOREM.  
 85 *Ad M. Antonium Muretum dum Tyburi per aestum ageret (...)*  
 Murete eloquij decus, et lux maxima Vatum,  
 86 *Ad F. Thomam Massanen. (...)*  
 Hic quo conscendit spolijs insignis opimis  
 86<sup>v</sup> *Ad Angelum Sangrinum Monacum Casinatem (...)*  
 Ad Vaticani tendebat limina templi  
 88 *Ad Jll. et R. mum Ludouicum de Torres (...)*  
 Proxima dum celebri uisurus rura Panormo  
 88<sup>v</sup> *R. mo Martiali in lite mea (...)*  
 Aurea causicus placidis rapit ocia Musis  
*Ad card. Sanseuerinum (...)*  
 Aspicias ut rostro terebratus pectora adunco  
 89 *Ad Jo. Tuallardum Belgam (...)*  
 Belgia te genuit, pietas sed fouit in ulnis  
*Ad Natalem Bonifacium aeris incidendi artificem egregium*  
 Tu quoque Natalis dignus celebreris amici  
 89<sup>v</sup> *De oratione Pompeij Vgonij (...) in funere Leonis X (...)*  
 Si te dicentem felicia secla Leonis  
*Jn insigne Tuallardi (...)*  
 Belgica qui aspectu metuendus fortia regna  
*Ad Jll. Philippum et Ricardum de Merode Barones Belgas F.*  
 Inuicti iuuenes quos alta ad sidera uirtus  
 90 *Ad Horatium Gratianum dum de iure in utroque (...)*  
 Jn partes dum iura ambas defendis Horati  
*Ad Xystum V Pont. max. dum aquas inuiseret (...)*  
 Xyste pater cui Roma potens cui supplicat orbis,  
 90<sup>v</sup> *Jn amphitheatrum Albanum*  
 Hic ubi spectauit caueis Albana iuuentus

- Jn Audoenum Ludouicum inuisentem Albanum (...)*  
 Albanas Ludouicus aquas, Albaeque ruinas
- 91 *Ad M. Antonium Muretum (...)*  
 Nunc uaga conspicuo uoluuntur sidera motu,
- 92 *Ad Alanum Anglum (...) card. creatum (...)*  
 Anglia nascentem quae te niueo ubere pauit
- 92<sup>v</sup> *Ad M. Antonium Muretum (...)*  
 Hactenus assiduis iuuat indulsisse querelis,
- 93<sup>v</sup> *De Alzpilcuerta Nauarro nuncupato*  
 Complerunt monumenta orbem tua. Nulla sub astris  
*Ad Principium Federicum in opus de draconibus (...)*  
 Jn uarias formas emblemata ducta draconis
- 94 *Proba Sempronia Hortina*  
 Insignis cythara celebretur Lesbia Sapho  
*(sine titulo)*  
 Vt castum seruet pectus Lucretia taedis
- 94<sup>v</sup> *Aliud*  
 Foemina quò seruet pectus Romana pudicum  
*Ad Fulgentium Maronem (?)*  
 O utinam quae ine [\*\*\*]  
*Jn aquam felicem*  
 Me quisquis quondam celebrem deduxit ad Vrbem
- 95 *Card. li Madrucio*  
 Magne Heros, cui nobilitas, cui uiuida uirtus
- A. *(sine titulo)*  
 Quis clarus strepitus iugis
- B. *(sine titulo)*  
 Purior ut strepuit plenis de fontibus unda,

## INDEX INITIORUM

- 11 Abscessu moerens dilecti Liuia amantis  
 32 Accipe purpurei merito pars magna senatus  
 74 Accipe quas calamo tabulas, lacrimisque notau  
 3<sup>v</sup> Ad fontem Liuilla ueni qua murmurat unda  
 86<sup>v</sup> Ad Vaticani tendebat limina templi  
 21<sup>v</sup> Aduentum Ausonio positas in littore cellas  
 45 Aegypti duris moles excisa cauernis

- 23 Aestuat Hebraeae dubio dum pectore flamma  
 9<sup>v</sup> Aestus erat cum sol radijs incensus acutis  
 68<sup>v</sup> Agnosco expressos uultus, spirantiaque ora,  
 90<sup>v</sup> Albanas Ludouicus aquas, Albaeque ruinas  
 16<sup>v</sup> Albula ubi irriguo spatatur flumine, et una  
 22 Alcon optatae Augusti uenere calendae  
 14<sup>v</sup> Alcon pastorum decus ut conspexit amantis  
 38<sup>v</sup> Aliger assiduos lunae, solisque recessus  
 53<sup>v</sup> Alma parens haec dona tuae do cernuus arae  
 50 Alme Pater solus dum magna negocia tractas  
 34<sup>v</sup> Alta Quirinali qua semita uertice longo  
 41<sup>v</sup> Angele dum sacras cantus meditaris ad umbras  
 52<sup>v</sup> Angele, qui miras species effingis in auro  
 69 Angelicus deuota choris, deuota Tonanti,  
 92 Anglia nascentem quae te niueo ubere paut  
 49<sup>v</sup> Antiquam pontis molem deiecerat undae  
 40<sup>v</sup> Aoniae amarant fontes, laurique uirentis  
 57 Appulerat pius Adriacas Martinus ad oras  
 3 Arcu deposito, pharetra, iaculisque relictis  
 38 Ardebat tenero sub pectore dira cupido  
 46 Arma Virûm dum forte docet flammasque magister  
 24 Artibus Andreas placidis eductus Vises  
 63 Arx tibi magne Pater caput inter nubila condens  
 15 Aspice care Mycon surgentis lumina solis,  
 14 Aspice ut antra petat uillo praecordia Faunus  
 54<sup>v</sup> Aspice ut atrato uolitem circumdata limbo  
 15 Aspice ut icta graui capra uulnere deuia montis  
 43 Aspice ut intortis uolitet per Gallica regna  
 68<sup>v</sup> Aspicias illa ego sum Gallis uix cognita, campos  
 88<sup>v</sup> Aspicias ut rostro tenebratus pectora adunco  
 21<sup>v</sup> Astrorum princeps, Pindique magister, et idem  
 83<sup>v</sup> Audijt argutae cytharae resonantia plectra  
 59 Audijt ut raptam Veronica funere acerbo  
 29 Auratos Radiuile ornat cui purpura crines,  
 88<sup>v</sup> Aurea caudicibus placidis rapit oia Musis  
 25 Aurea quae Vgoniae mittuntur munera Laurae  
 46<sup>v</sup> Aurum si perdas facile reparatur; ademptus  
 89 Belgia te genuit, pietas sed fouit in ulnis  
 89<sup>v</sup> Belgica qui aspectu metuendus fortia regna  
 2 Candida hyems tibi terra tuos populatur honores,  
 59 Care puer, iucunde puer, spes sola Camille,  
 18<sup>v</sup> Carmina quae tenui plectro cecinere coronas,  
 42 Carole dum Albano distendis nectare cellas  
 30 Ceu micat astriferi facies nitidissima Olympi  
 9<sup>v</sup> Cernis ut ardenti praecurrit Syrius igne;  
 40 Cernis ut exultet resonanti flumine Tybris

- 28<sup>v</sup> Cernis ut Hortinis strepuit de fontibus unda,  
 42 Clara arbos generosa comis, generosa trophoeis,  
 62 Clare animo, generose pugil seu forte cruento  
 93<sup>v</sup> Complerunt monumenta orbem tua. Nulla sub astris  
 65 Coniugis extincti exequitur dum funera coniux  
 42<sup>v</sup> Corpore quae niueo nitet hîc interrita uirgo  
 (Corpore quae niueo *fulget generosa uirago*)  
 39 Deiectos lacrymans arcus, ruituraque tecta  
 64 Demetri, decus artium bonarum,  
 10 Depulsos quicumque suis è matribus agnos  
 1<sup>v</sup> Desine fallaci solam te credere siluae;  
 49 Desine nigra oculos, flauo formosa capillo  
 16 Desine secretae solam te credere siluae  
 46 Dextra tenet uirtutis iter, scelerumque sinistra,  
 77<sup>v</sup> Dicite quae Proteus cecinit per carmina Musae  
 52<sup>v</sup> Doedala dum leni Lauinia pingeret orbi  
 15<sup>v</sup> Dulcis Acon, si nomen Acon tibi rura dedere  
 37 Dum celer Ausoniam linquis, dumque ultima Thules  
 69 Dum Christi tristes obitus, pallentiaque ora  
 81<sup>v</sup> Dum matutinum Solis mirabere cursum  
 26 Dum nouus ingrederis rutilanti in ueste Sacerdos  
 18 Dum patruî Federice premis uestigia laudum  
 16 Dum pedibus dulces calcat sordentibus uuas  
 27 Dum petis Hortinos campos, ubi rura meorum,  
 4 Dum placidum ad fontem, lenique instratus in alga  
 44 Dum ruri aduigilas quâ doctam Antenoris Urbem  
 40<sup>v</sup> Dum semet tereti Lauinia pingit in orbe  
 7 Dum solers Fului latebris monumenta priorum  
 30<sup>v</sup> Dum spes nulla foret palmae stat pectore tristis  
 37<sup>v</sup> Dum supplex pia uota nouas, arasque reuisis  
 81 Dum uarias formas elephante effingis in albo  
 50<sup>v</sup> Dum Vaticanam molem Fontana reuellis  
 41 Dum uirtute tua, dum te se iactat alumno  
 54 Ecquid ages, niueum ut serues Lucretia pectus :  
 9<sup>v</sup> Errabat puer Amphyllion dum noctis opacae  
 32<sup>v</sup> Et celebrat te cana fides, et recta uoluntas,  
 13 Et circum te hedera assurgens pulcherrima laure  
 55<sup>v</sup> Et Phoebum ac Lunam nocturnaue metior astra :  
 36 Et plaudit tibi magne Pater uagus Adria siluis,  
 46<sup>v</sup> Exhaustam flammis reparat uir prouidus aedem,  
 3 Extinctam Victorillam moestissima Nais  
 49<sup>v</sup> Extinctos fratres subitus quos mersit in undis  
 76 Exoritur lux alma, anni melioris origo,  
 2 Fallaces aubus laqueos dum nectit Amynthas,  
 34 Felice exultant felicia saecula Xysto  
 50<sup>v</sup> Ferdinande Pater plaudit tibi Tybridis unda



- 68<sup>v</sup> Fida Numae ad Jani collem regina uolucrum  
 33<sup>v</sup> Filius agricolae cocleas intentus ad ignem  
 94<sup>v</sup> Foemina quò seruet pectus Romana pudicum  
 9 Fons nitidum umbrosa spargit sub ualle liquorem,  
 47<sup>v</sup> Forte uiam carpebat Hylax rectumque tenebat  
 32 Francisci aeternam hystoriam facunde Rodulphi  
 53<sup>v</sup> Fugerat in coelum meditans coelestia seorsus  
 61 Gallesi qui rura colunt, camposque Faliscos,  
 92<sup>v</sup> Hactenus assiduis iuuet indulsisse querelis  
 13<sup>v</sup> Hac te sub quercu expecto fidissima coniux  
 5 Haec ego cantandi studio, non laudis amore  
 19<sup>v</sup> Haec lux quae Blasium pugnantem excepit Olympo  
 63 Haec Proteus tibi uera cano si cetera mendax,  
 56<sup>v</sup> Haec quae tunc primum pergit te Principe Horati  
 11 Haec quercus quondam fuerat sacrata Tonanti  
 81<sup>v</sup> Haec quoque magnanimi curas est Principis inter  
 15<sup>v</sup> Haec tibi care Mycon nullo munuscula cultu  
 75 Haec tibi care Mycon tenui male condita cultu  
 36<sup>v</sup> Hanc chlamydem croceo Eridanus tibi murice tinxi  
 15<sup>v</sup> Hanc hedera inuoluens uitem tua munera Bacche  
 54 Hanc propter platanum fluuio Tyberinus amaeno  
 60 Hanc uallem uiuum colui, uallisque recessus  
 24<sup>v</sup> Hanc Xystus molem tenebrosa in parte latentem  
 15<sup>v</sup> Has tibi Bacche Pater maturas uitibus uuas  
 8 Has tibi serpentes hederas cum bacchare nectam  
 21 Has tibi Xyste Pater, quamuis maiora merenti  
 61<sup>v</sup> Has uiolas haecserta tibi carissime coniux  
 60 Has uiolas, haecserta tibi languentia natus  
 25<sup>v</sup> Herbarum uaria uires, secretaque Castor  
 8<sup>v</sup> Herpylus aequoreas propter dum luderet undas,  
 11<sup>v</sup> Hesperus auratum coeli de uertice crinem  
 55<sup>v</sup> Heu lacrimor titulis clarus regnisque superbus  
 14<sup>v</sup> Hic ades attritas mecum tractare cicutas  
 54<sup>v</sup> Hic bini extincti fratres dum culmine ab alto  
 4<sup>v</sup> Hic est frondentis pastor bonus accola montis,  
 1<sup>v</sup> Hic est ille puer, quondam quem mille puellae,  
 1 Hic fons est, cuius latices placuere Camaenis,  
 58 Hic Marci caros cineres Roma inclyta seruat,  
 4<sup>v</sup> Hic molli indulgens tamno secunda quiescit  
 86 Hic quo conscendit spolijs insignis opimis  
 65<sup>v</sup> Hic ubi Apollinea uernabant culmina fronde  
 26 Hic ubi delicias Regum longoeua uetustas  
 90<sup>v</sup> Hic ubi spectauit caueis Albana iuuentus  
 33 Hic ubi Vestales ignes nituere, Ducesque  
 52 Hic uires natura suas expressit, et auxit  
 28<sup>v</sup> Hoc cliuo assurgit collis caeloque minatur,

- 39 Hoc solium te Xyste Pater multo ante petebat,  
 45<sup>v</sup> Hoc uellus gemmisque nitens, auroque rigenti,  
 2<sup>v</sup> Hoc Victorillam tumulo prope Tybridis undam  
 14 Horret adhuc mea Callhyroe nigrantia membra,  
 18 Hortino digressus agro pietatis amore  
 1 Hortinos qui lambit agros uagus Albula lymphis  
 2<sup>v</sup> Hos arcus, haec tela tuo Dictinna sacello  
 13<sup>v</sup> Hos subter calathos, et lento uimine uinctus  
 10<sup>v</sup> Hos tibi care Alcon nascentis ruris honores,  
 7<sup>v</sup> Hoc Tyrsis tumulo tegitur cantare sub umbris  
 10<sup>v</sup> Huc ades ò Lenaeae, tibi sic texta corymbis  
 38<sup>v</sup> Huc adsis Vatumque pater, medicaeque repertor  
 11 Huc dulces aurae pennis per inane citatis  
 1<sup>v</sup> Huius florentes hortos ingressus agelli  
 13<sup>v</sup> *Huius florentes hortos ingressus agelli*  
 28 Hunc niueo pontem Coesar de marmore struxit  
 58 Hunc tumulum Helisabetta tibi dulcissima coniux  
 59<sup>v</sup> Hunc tumulum tibi nate prior sacro crine reuulso  
 33<sup>v</sup> Hunc tumulum ueteri maerens in Apollinis aede  
 45<sup>v</sup> Jam satis Ausonio perfusa est sanguine tellus,  
 22 Janus adest sit fausta dies et lumine amico  
 20<sup>v</sup> Jbis ad extremos celeri pede rura Britannos  
 82 J Demi i patriam felix Belgasque reuise  
 27<sup>v</sup> Jlla ego cui legum concessa est summa potestas  
 55 Jlla ego nata solo, ponto dein nupta marito  
 66 Jlle ego, progenies Diuûm mea fata sepulcro  
 55 Jlle humili quamquam natus de stirpe, superba  
 63<sup>v</sup> Jlle leo impastus non explorata ferarum  
 37 Jn casus dum sponte tuos ruit inclyta tellus  
 10 Jndex contempto pro numine terminus arua  
 90 Jn partes dum iura ambas defendis Horati  
 94 Insignis cythara celebretur Lesbia Sapho  
 18<sup>v</sup> Insignis iuuenis, qui per uestigia auorum  
 30<sup>v</sup> Insignis quando refugit mea tempora laurus  
 93<sup>v</sup> Jn uarias formas emblemata ducta draconis  
 34 Jnuicti Heroes quos claro sanguine auorum  
 89<sup>v</sup> Jnuicti iuuenes quos alta ad sidera uirtus  
 1 Jrrigui fontes, et dulcia rura parentum,  
 47 Jrrigui fontis custos hic Nympha quiescit  
 10<sup>v</sup> *Jrrigui fontis custos hîc nympha quiescit*  
 18<sup>v</sup> Jstria quem genuit, Decij quem compulit ira  
 83 Julius ingressus Pindi per amaena uireta  
 24 Labere pax zephyris medium per inane citatis  
 18 Laurenti cui fronde comas pulcherrima laurus  
 59<sup>v</sup> Laurenti hunc tumulum ponit tibi marmore Julus  
 64<sup>v</sup> Laurus Apollinea surgens pulcherrima silua

- 19<sup>v</sup> Letitie mira signa plus noua signa cohorsque  
 51 Lilia quae seruat campis pulcherrima Roma  
 68<sup>v</sup> Luculli dum rura canis tua praepete penna  
 54 Magna arbos deuota comis, seruata triumphis,  
 19 *Magna arbos spectata comis, deuota triumphis*  
 31<sup>v</sup> Magnanimum paruo hoc tumulo Mauortis alumnum,  
 95 Magne Heros, cui nobilitas, cui uiuida uirtus  
 40 Magne hoeros quo cana fides uiget auspice, et ardet  
 50<sup>v</sup> Magne Pater nil laudis egens at proximus illi,  
 7<sup>v</sup> Mane nouum. Nitidum profert pastoribus astrum  
 60<sup>v</sup> Marmore sub gelido Nauarri arentia membra  
 73 Massari decus Asperiae, spes cara tuorum,  
 33<sup>v</sup> Materno è gremio prodit quando Angelus infans  
 56 Me Pax cernit blanda quies me candida regnat  
 36 Me Pindi nemora alta uocant, collesque uirentes,  
 94<sup>v</sup> Me quisquis quondam celebrem deduxit ad Urbem  
 58<sup>v</sup> Me Sutrinus ager genuit Saturnia tellus  
 13<sup>v</sup> Mille sub hoc Alcon tibi pascit monte capellas,  
 36 Miretur natura undis immania Lete,  
 46 Moenia dum premeret ueteris Borbonius Urbis  
 30<sup>v</sup> Moerebam sacrae fraudatus frondis honore  
 55<sup>v</sup> Mole sub ingenti duro et sub robore uires  
 63 Mons altus, dumisque rigens circumque supraque  
 13 Monte sub hoc duro pastor sua prata tuetur,  
 85 Murete eloquij decus, et lux maxima Vatum,  
 60<sup>v</sup> Musarum studijs et stemmate clarus Eoo  
 9 Myrtus odorata Hortinis sub collibus orta,  
 8<sup>v</sup> Nascere Phoebe pater sic sis pulcherrimus usque  
 25<sup>v</sup> Nasceris has propter formosi Tybridis undas  
 53 Nascitur ille puer Vatum qui arcana priorum  
 36<sup>v</sup> Natus in Adriaco pulcherrimus aequare Delphin  
 46<sup>v</sup> Nauphragio amissas reparabit nauita merces  
 14<sup>v</sup> Nec te Callhyroe series uentura nepotum  
 59<sup>v</sup> Ne foret hoc saxum cineri graue moesta precatur  
 9 Nocte sub obscura solus gelidoque sub axe  
 4<sup>v</sup> Non unquam infestae soluant tua stamina Parcae  
 57 Non sic Oebalios deuinxit foedere fratres  
 36 Nos quondam Veneris currus, nos esseda campis  
 66<sup>v</sup> Nox erat, et caelo in medio uaga cornua Phoebe  
 8 Nox silet. Argutis resonat uicinia grillis,  
 79 Nulla mihi Aeaeae poterunt cantamina Circes  
 59 Nuncius attulerat Gallis suspiria narrans  
 48 Nuncius ille Iouis uolucris mandata per auras  
 91 Nunc uaga conspicuo uoluuntur sidera motu,  
 8 Nympha cauernosi peragras quae deuia montis,  
 82 Nymphae, Vosque Aganippides puellae,

- 28<sup>v</sup> Nympha gemo, cuius sedes Vadimonis in unda,  
 50<sup>v</sup> Obruta quae iacuit coeca tellure sepulta  
 46 Obuia ubi natum Spartana aspexit inermem,  
 2<sup>v</sup> Ò fons irrigue ò fonti uicina canoris  
 13 Ò Pan ille tuus numeris cantatus Amynthas  
 39 Optabat Superum coetus te adiungere Diuis  
 15 Ò quae cara prius somnum sub nocte silenti  
 53 Ò qui cuncta tuo flectis uaga flumina nutu  
 19<sup>v</sup> Ornarant te Pierides Ludouice corona  
 33 Ore faue quisquis nitidam consistis ad aram  
 52<sup>v</sup> Ò superum quae uecta choris, quae uecta per auras  
 94<sup>v</sup> O utinam quae ine [\*\*\*]  
 38<sup>v</sup> Palati astrorumque obitus dimensus et ortus  
 24<sup>v</sup> Palladis insignem studijs ad clara Marinum  
 14 Parce metu mea Callhyroe non tegmine quercus  
 8<sup>v</sup> Parue culex, dilecte culex dum nocte serena  
 48 Paruus Hylax caudae uillis sub crura reflexis  
 55 Patre labore satus, nutricem agnosco quietem  
 49<sup>v</sup> Pellei iuuenis dignum te nomine monstras  
 41 Pellentem auratas audiuit pectine cordas  
 25 Penelope longum telae pertesa labores  
 30 Per salices humiles, et circum prata meorum  
 7<sup>v</sup> Phoebe pater qui prata foues, qui densa relaxas  
 32 Phoebe pater si qua est Vatum tibi cura tuorum,  
 70 Praesulis eximij moerentes funere Musae  
 61 Principis inuicti spes, et spes magna Quiritum  
 27<sup>v</sup> Pro foribus templi te Radiuile saluto  
 42 Pro patria dum bella foris gerit, inde Latinus  
 37 Pro patria ò Socij pro religionis honore  
 37<sup>v</sup> Pro patria postquam cecidit fortissimus Haeros  
 88 Proxima dum celebri uisurus rura Panormo  
 4 Pulcher Hylas dum forte urna male cautus inani  
 48<sup>v</sup> Pulsus in exilium iurati criminis ultor  
 49 Pupula blanda tuae carae lux unica matris,  
 B. Purior ut strepuit plenis de fontibus unda,  
 51 Purpurea in ueste ut uidit Tyberinus ab undis  
 31 Quae Dea fraternos fuerat miserata doloris  
 35 Quae ducis inuicti sub marmore fulget imago  
 59<sup>v</sup> Quae fuerat compressa graui sub mole, soluta  
 25<sup>v</sup> Quae nitida assurgunt flauentes casside aristae  
 19 Quae pono ante tuas plantas pater optime Xyste  
 36<sup>v</sup> Quae prius Adriacis uolitabam proxima ripis  
 56<sup>v</sup> Quae prius annoso surgebat stipite laurus  
 47 Quae prius exesis iacui lymphæ abdita ripis  
 47 Quae prius exesis ludebam lymphæ sub antris  
 60<sup>v</sup> Quae tegitur saxo Virgo est. Qui marmora seruat

- 39<sup>v</sup> Quae turbata prius caelo mutata repente  
 27 Quam penes imperium mundi fuit inclyta Roma  
 28 Quam petis Vrbs Hortina adsum tibi maxime Princeps  
 20 Quas tibi Xystus oues Cassani ad rura uagantes  
 52 Qua te pacato pulcherrimus agmine Tybris  
 3 Quem cernis duram ad quercum post terga reuinctum,  
 51 Quem Solyma ut regem excepit claroque triumpho  
 23 Quid segnis tenues memor subrepis in artus  
 42<sup>v</sup> Qui prius obductus tenebris, nunc surgit in auras  
 19 Qui puerum, urentemque sacras Heliconis ad undas  
 22<sup>v</sup> Quis caeli, caelique omnes uariabiles oras  
 A. Quis clari strepitus iugis  
 20<sup>v</sup> Qui septem sese attollit sub collibus Vrbis  
 56 Quis miserae dat primus opem? quis nostra periclis  
 20 Quis non hunc niueo diem lapillo  
 31 Quisquis fonte bibis seu pastor, siue bubulcus  
 50 Quis te magne Pater celebret, cui summa potestas,  
 34 Quod per te exultat Romae decus addita uilla  
 25 Quod te docte puer candor, quod gloria fandi  
 43 Quò me Phoebe rapis placidi dum grata Fauoni  
 21 Quos fera barbaries, Christoque inimica cathenis  
 0<sup>v</sup> Quos tibi Pastorum lusus deuotus Jolas  
 2 Ridentes nitidum dum Ver aperitur in auras,  
 61<sup>v</sup> Robertus tumulo iacet hoc, quem flore iuuentae  
 32<sup>v</sup> Roma potens ilaris Diuûm decorata trophaeis,  
 24<sup>v</sup> Rumpe moras, quae siderei stas limine Olympi  
 29 Salue magne Heros nostro decus addite caelo,  
 27 Salue purpurei splendor Radiuile senatus  
 81 Salue spes miserae magna Britanniae  
 62<sup>v</sup> Sanguine quod clarus formaque insignis et alta  
 48<sup>v</sup> Semper plus ultra dicebas Carole, tantus  
 56<sup>v</sup> Siderei fratres, duo lumina Lancillotti  
 31 Siste Deam uenerata loci dum fontis ad umbras  
 64 Siste gradum quicumque prius contendis in Vrbem  
 58 Siste hospes, lacrymisque madens hoc pellege carmen  
 62 Siste precor quicumque Ducis monumenta sepulti  
 49 Sistitur ante aras sacro Catarilla lauacro  
 89<sup>v</sup> Si te dicentem felicia secla Leonis  
 23<sup>v</sup> Siue imber rapidus ruat  
 3 Somme ueni : placidus fessis allabere membris,  
 54<sup>v</sup> Sphinx ego monstrum ingens pernici sidera cursu  
 65 Sponte suas celebres praebet facundia palmas  
 50 Stanislae pater, longinquis edite in oris  
 83<sup>v</sup> Stella Quirinali radios iacit aerea colle  
 39<sup>v</sup> Suscipis infantem dum Ferrattine, sacerdos  
 58<sup>v</sup> Sutrina uetere urbe satum te Antenoris ora

- 22<sup>v</sup> Te Bellona suum iactabat feruida campis  
 83 Te molli in gremio fouit placidissima Syren  
 71 Tempus erat placidae, quo grata silentia noctis,  
 20<sup>v</sup> Tenebis Ludouice lupos uirtute Britannos  
 83 Te quoque posteritas referet, quo plurima uiuunt  
 65<sup>v</sup> Terrarum qui summa uides, qui sidera torques  
 47<sup>v</sup> Transit Hylax; Jssa oblatrat; pugnant; cadit Jssa.  
 31<sup>v</sup> Transtyberim tumultata iacent delata Faliscis  
 55<sup>v</sup> Tu qua natus humo? Caeli quo sidere, clari  
 89 Tu quoque Natalis dignus celebreris amici  
 60<sup>v</sup> Tu quoque quando cadis coeli huius clara Serene  
 10 Tu testis me sancta Pales lustrasse quotannis  
 34<sup>v</sup> Tybridis ad ripas ut pauit lacte gemellos  
 57 Tybridis ad ripas, ueteremque ad Apollinis aram  
 64<sup>v</sup> Vgoni cytharam dum pollice tangis eburnam  
 41<sup>v</sup> Vgoni eloquij moderator docte latini  
 21<sup>v</sup> Vgoni reditu nitidis caput extulit undis  
 40 Vgonius Phoebi placidis secesserat antris  
 3<sup>v</sup> Victorilla iacet tumulo hoc certare canendo,  
 76<sup>v</sup> Viderat e fluuio spectans Tyberinus amaeno  
 32<sup>v</sup> *Viderat è fluuio spectans Tyberinus amaeno*  
 84 Viderat ille tuos ausus Mauortius Haeros  
 3<sup>v</sup> Vidit ut igne calens, ictusque Cupidinis arcu  
 39<sup>v</sup> Vidit ut insignem Vatem, senioque uerendum  
 47<sup>v</sup> Vna morantes felis et canis domo  
 29 Vnde nouum sese profert iubar, unde sereno  
 60 Vnge, alis, rostroque potens, interque uolucres  
 38 Vt bene diuus Amor iuuenili obsistat amori,  
 94 Vt castum seruet pectus Lucretia taedis  
 46<sup>v</sup> Vt cecidit numquam assurgit, flos primus honoris;  
 65 Vt Martis soboles, quà te Tyberina fluentia  
 37<sup>v</sup> Vt patriam longo conspexit Marte cadentem  
 31 Vt post demersam secus Actia littora classem  
 41 Vt te Castalio cupidum succedere cliuo  
 23 Vt te Sarmatia digressum maenia Romae  
 58<sup>v</sup> Vt te uidit Amor, iuuenum pulcherrime Ponti  
 48<sup>v</sup> Vt uidit diffusa comas per candida colla  
 30 Vt uidit pugnantum acies, atque agmina Pallas  
 62 Viximus heu quondam placide dum uiximus ambo  
 90 Xyste pater cui Roma potens cui supplicat orbis,  
 45 Xyste Pater, cuius loetatur sidere Roma,  
 45 Xyste Pater, per quem ueteres restaurat honores

Daniele DOMENICHINI

SCIENZA BIBLICA E CURIOSITA' FILOLOGICHE IN  
UNA LETTERA INEDITA DI BENITO ARIAS MONTANO

... ὁμοφρονέοντε νοήμασιν ...

Raccogliendo e presentando, ottant'anni fa, le lettere di Robert Gaguin, Louis Thuasne avvertiva il lettore come l'umanista franco-fiammingo

“a laissé dans ses lettres et dans ses discours une source précieuse pour l'histoire politique et littéraire de son temps, qui est loin d'avoir été utilisée comme elle le mérite”<sup>1</sup>.

Lo stesso potremmo dire oggi dell'*opus epistolarium* di Benito Arias Montano; il *retrato* che accompagna anche in questo campo la storiografia montaniana è considerazione critica fin troppo adusata per necessitare di particolare (e dolorosa) insistenza; e abbisogna più di concrete iniziative editoriali che di amare palinodie.

Intendiamo così presentare, a mo' di anticipazione di un lavoro di più ampio respiro, destinato — speriamo in tempi sufficientemente brevi — a raccogliere e a valutare criticamente ed esaustivamente l'epistolario montaniano, un breve inedito dovuto alla penna del dotto di Fregenal. La scelta della *pieza* — tra i tanti inediti già raccolti e studiati — ha, oltre che un valore dimostrativo circa l'ampio spettro di interessi sotteso anche al più breve *informe* del nostro, anche un valore scopertamente polemico con un taglio storiografico che pare, in questi ultimi anni, essere assunto a fasti editoriali certamente indebiti, e finisce col millantare valori euristici altrettanto immotivati. L'epistolario montaniano — come tutte le opere di autori per i quali l'appiattimento critico a presunti o pretesi valori 'letterari' ha finito con lo snaturare il più autentico *legado* intellettuale — richiede di essere investigato e illustrato *iuxta propria principia*; e se è vero che esistono

<sup>1</sup> *Epistolae et Orationes*, I (Paris, 1903), p. 1.

indubbi legami di interna coerenza in una riflessione articolata in un arco di tempo straordinariamente protratto e focalizzantesi su temi di pensiero tra loro estremamente variati, nondimeno è un fatto — con tutto ciò che questa parola implica nel campo della storiografia — che l'Arias Montano scrittore di cose politiche vada anche e soprattutto iscritto nei problemi storico-religiosi sui quali si centrò la sua riflessione; e l'Arias Montano scrittore di cose religiose debba essere esaminato con il dovuto interesse — saremmo tentati di aggiungere: la specificità — richiesto dai temi sottesi alla discussione. Salvo poi ricostruire — ma come risultato, appunto, non come presupposto — quella fondamentale unitarietà dell'Arias Montano *interprete* del reale, in tutte le forme del manifestarsi fenomenico.

\*  
\* \* \*

Nei manoscritti 9227 (ff. 171<sup>r</sup>-173<sup>v</sup>) e 152 (ff. 70<sup>r</sup>-71<sup>v</sup>) della Biblioteca Nacional di Madrid incontriamo due copie di una lettera montaniana a Francisco Pérez del Collado, recante la data del 28 giugno 1588. Si tratta rispettivamente della lettera spedita e della relativa minuta, postillata con *marginalia* dell'autore. Le due copie non presentano varianti di considerazione, tanto da accreditare — pratica del resto non infrequente in Arias Montano, anche in altre parti dell'epistolario — l'ipotesi di una ritrascrizione della minuta per fini conservativi, proprio a partire dal testo definitivo, direttamente composto.

Quello che invece è notevole — e che meriterebbe una più approfondita ricostruzione storiografica, ben oltre l'economia del presente lavoro — è il momento storico e biografico in cui cade lo scambio epistolare montaniano con Pérez del Collado. Il 1588 è l'anno in cui la malattia di Plantin — destinata in breve a spegnerlo — pare segnare uno spartiacque nelle vicende di Arias Montano, e accentuarne quello isolamento fisico che altrove abbiamo già avuto modo di osservare<sup>2</sup>; la sostanziale incomprensione con il gruppo anverpiense superstite della Kammerstraat, Moerentorf in testa, le difficoltà nel mantenere vivi i rapporti con i familisti, al di là dei Pirenei, le prime avvisaglie di problemi all'interno dell'Escorial — la vicenda del priore Alaejos

<sup>2</sup> introducono acutamente in questa problematica alcune pagine di B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano* (Madrid, 1973), pp. 16-19. Sugli stessi temi cfr. D. Domenichini, *Analecta montaniana* (Pisa, 1985), pp. 13-27.



e l'incriminazione di José de Sigüenza conoscono prodromi non equivoci nel medio periodo, e Arias Montano era osservatore assai scaltrito nell'individuare le linee di tendenza dei movimenti ideologici *in fieri* — tutte marcano, nella vicenda montaniana di questo periodo, lo stigma dell'insoddisfazione e la dolorosa consapevolezza di uno strutturale *déracinement*; il trascinarsi delle polemiche sulla *Biblia Regia*, a Roma e in Spagna, potevano ben dare la misura di una generale involuzione nel dibattito teorico, destinata vieppiù ad aggravarsi ed a isterilirsi.

In questa temperie, certamente non confortante, Arias Montano studiava di riorganizzare e orientare su nuove basi il cenacolo escurialense; in primo luogo, con una sapiente e paziente riproposizione del proprio ruolo 'magistrale' nei confronti delle voci più accreditate dell'ortodossia, rielaborate e reinterpretate con un'ampia dose di libertà ermeneutica e con scoperte venature polemiche. Di questo procedimento, destinato a culminare, negli ultimissimi anni di vita, in una scrittura difensiva tanto accorta quanto coraggiosa, la lettera a Pérez del Collado rappresenta un testimoniao relativamente precoce, e ben degno d'essere conosciuto.

Sull'identità dell'interlocutore non abbiamo purtroppo dati biografici di sorta, oltre alla icastica annotazione dello stesso Arias Montano, in margine al ms. 152 ("canonicus fuit Ecclesiae Oriolensis, et per-famil<iar>is meus"). Ma non si andrà molto lontani dal vero, immaginando Pérez del Collado come uno dei tanti *condiscipuli* che — in Spagna come altrove — richiedevano ad Arias Montano consigli esegetici, indicazioni scritturistiche, precisazioni filologiche, suggerimenti spiritualistici. Non a caso Arias Montano chiude la lettera con l'indicazione, in vece del nome, della formula بليد, usata solo per la corrispondenza con persone avvertite come ideologicamente prossime; evidentemente Pérez del Collado era uno dei tanti — dall'abate di San Isidro a Oretano, da Sánchez de Oropesa allo stesso Zayas — che, pur trovandosi materialmente fuori dalla cellula familista congregata con pazienza e prudenza all'interno dell'Escorial, aveva nella figura del redattore della *Poliglotta* un sicuro punto di riferimento per quesiti di carattere ermeneutico, impostati su un non equivoco versante spiritualista, anche se in forma sovente larvata e talora quasi crittografica.

Il tono della lettera di Pérez del Collado — documento che sfortunatamente non ci è pervenuto — doveva certamente muoversi nel senso testé illustrato; una richiesta di aiuto che Arias Montano

non poteva — e non voleva, aggiungiamo noi — in alcun modo eludere né deludere.

\*  
\* \*

La soluzione data alla prima difficoltà è contraddistinta, in primo luogo, da una grande accuratezza esegetica. Effettivamente tanto nel *textus receptus* di Ya'aqob ben Ḥayyim quanto nella famiglia Ben Asher il verbo צָנַח è usato solo tre volte (*Jos*, 15, 18; *Jud*, 1, 14; *Jud*, 4, 21), e in tutte nella forma del Qal imperfetto צָנַחִי. L'etimo incerto, la mancanza di radici sicuramente comparabili<sup>3</sup>, l'evidente congetturalità nella versione dei Settanta (“ἐβόησεν” e “ἐγόγγυζεν” rispettivamente in *Jos*, 15, 18 e in *Jud*, 1, 14; ma “διήλασεν” in *Jud*, 4, 21) e la non meno appariscente povertà filologica della traduzione volgata (“sedebat” e “sedens” in *Jos*, 15, 18 e *Jud*, 1, 14; una locuzione avverbiale in verità piuttosto anodina, se non proprio reticente, in *Jud*, 4, 21) dovevano certamente essere ben presenti nella lettera di Pérez del Collado, e forse — come abbiamo visto — origine stessa della richiesta.

A queste oggettive difficoltà esegetiche Arias Montano oppone le ragioni di una riflessione che studia di fondare su una considerazione unitaria i tre passi in questione (“namque ea quae figimus quoda[m]modo stabilia reddimus”)<sup>4</sup>, allargando nel contempo l'orizzonte filologico verso forme concettualmente viciniore (il più noto שָׁמַח); e orientando e arricchendo la discussione — diciamo così — tecnica, con osservazioni tratte dalla scepse attenta del reale, nelle sue molteplici forme; l'avvicendamento delle colture — e la quiescenza settennale dei terreni, ad evitarne la stanchezza (“... uti nosti septimum

<sup>3</sup> cfr. W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das A.T.* (Berlin, 1959), p. 688; e L. Koehler—W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros* (Leiden, 1953), p. 808b. L'allargamento del confronto ad altre realtà lessicali semitiche, più che chiarire effettivamente le difficoltà interpretative, finisce col confermare i presupposti di partenza di ciascuno; uno per tutti, si valuti la labilità argomentativa del rimando al جمع e al شتحن arabi. Opera anche in questo campo la *petitio principii* dimostrata esemplarmente, per i problemi di vocalizzazione e per gli appelli all’“ancora” ugaritica, dal Morag nella sua storica memoria alla International Conference of Semitic Studies di Gerusalemme (1965).

<sup>4</sup> La teoria della polisemia biblica si rivela qui nel suo aspetto a pieno titolo euristico, in contrasto patente con l'uso strumentale ad essa riservato dall'ermeneutica ortodossa. Cfr. F. López López, “La multiplicidad de sentidos literales en la Escritura, según los autores españoles (1550-1650)”, *Archivo Teológico Granadino*, X (1947), 395-419.

illum praefixum quieti agrorum annum antiqui vocabant”) — con la relativa (e complementare) conseguenza di carattere giuridico-sociale, strutturale ad una società basata sulla produzione agricola — non è davvero un caso che per la remissione dei debiti, anch’essa con cadenza settennale, si usi nel Levitico il verbo שָׁמַט. Ma è soprattutto sulla finissima analisi psicologica dell’episodio di Acsa — del quale lo scrittore deuteronomista fornisce le due versioni complementari di *Jos*, 15, 18 e di *Jud*, 1, 14 — che Arias Montano pare fondare la propria ipotesi, e il proprio suggerimento esegetico. Il gemito che sfugge dal petto della sconsolata eroina, con le lacrime che fanno capolino “uberibus semper, semperque paratis” sono stati dettati allo scrittore sacro da una acuta “moris muliebris observatione”; è da questa attitudine alla descrizione dei fenomeni spirituali in termini che oggi potremmo definire ‘psicologici’, che Girolamo e Giovenale possono essere accomunati — senza tema alcuna di irriverenza — nel rilievo montaniano. E qui la lista delle *auctoritates* — possiamo ben leggere tra le righe — potrebbe allungarsi all’infinito: Valtanás e Philippe Galle, la πολυμάθεια di Cipriano de la Huerga e il *sabello todo* luisiano. Il fiscalismo di Huarte de San Juan e l’attualissima sfida calviniana a descrivere la storia religiosa e le esperienze spirituali in termini di stati mentali<sup>5</sup>, tutti contribuiscono a dare, alla risposta montaniana sul צָוֶה, quello spessore storico dal quale non dobbiamo in alcun modo isolare anche il più in apparenza esoterico dei problemi esegetici.

\*  
\* \*

Analoga istanza muove la seconda difficoltà — ma è sintomatico come mai, in tutta la lettera, Arias Montano usi il termine scolastico “difficultas”, limitandosi a parlare nel nostro caso di “exempla”. Anche qui la (sottintesa) richiesta di Pérez del Collado, e le risposte

<sup>5</sup> sfida prontamente raccolta dalle voci più accorte dell’irenismo religioso, soprattutto nel Nord Europa. Gli aspri contrasti sulle insinuazioni baiane — di un autore, cioè, che aveva mantenuto un pluriennale carteggio con teologi calvinisti, Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde in testa — possono essere riletti in questa chiave; così come all’angolo di quanto si è detto può essere interpretato il tramonto della fortuna di De Bay, durante e dopo la polemica con Leys. Utilissima, al riguardo, una lettura concomitante dei due articoli di S. Pagano, “Some Aspects of the Debate on Inspiration in the Louvain Controversy (1587-1588)”, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, XIV (1952), 336-49; e di A. M. Artolá, “Variaciones del pensamiento inspiracionista de Lessio a lo largo de la controversia lovaniense (1587-1588)”, *Archivo Teológico Granadino*, XXXVI (1973), 81-143.

montaniane, prendono forma in un campo di effettive incertezze e oscillazioni esegetiche. Esse derivano non tanto da un vero contrasto nella lettura del testo massoretico (tutti gli esemplari cinquecenteschi, indipendentemente dal colore religioso degli editori, recano in effetti la lezione *אִישׁ הַבָּנִים*), quanto piuttosto dalle soluzioni date dagli *interpretes* antichi—per lo meno, dai due più autorevoli di essi. I Settanta leggono infatti “*δυνατός*”—evidentemente collegabile ad una lettura di un corrotto *בן חיל*—e Girolamo rende l’espressione ebraica con “*spurius*”. Il problema è qui—e Arias Montano non manca di sottolineare questa differenza—indubbiamente diverso da quello rappresentato (e risolto) dalla lezione di *צִנּוֹן*. Il fatto che evidentemente tanto i Settanta quanto Girolamo abbiano reso in maniera tanto difforme un’espressione in sé non particolarmente difficile, impone all’interprete di risalire, ovviamente per via di congettura, verso la ricostruzione di due testi, certamente pre-massoretici, che giustifichino in qualche maniera le due soluzioni. La discrepanza nel rilievo sulla misura dell’altezza del gigante non è che il più noto, ma certamente non l’unico, dei contrasti apparentemente insanabili tra il TM, i Settanta (e, di conserva a questi, Giuseppe Flavio), la Vulgata.

Nei lavori della *Poliglotta*, Arias Montano non si era soffermato soverchio sul problema del *הַבָּנִים*: si era limitato a fornire in riga il *textus receptus*, confinando al margine la radice *בִּין* e riportando a fronte la traduzione di Santi Pagnini (“*intermedius*”). Il consueto carattere corsivo sottolineava la discrepanza della traduzione del domenicano lucchese con l’interprete volgato. In calce, il Targum di Onqelos e la relativa traduzione del Rapheling, al solito fedele anche a costo di essere involuta (“... *vir de-inter illos* ...”), confermavano, sempre che ve ne fosse bisogno, l’*אִישׁ הַבָּנִים* del testo.

Non mi pare azzardato pensare che la difficoltà, rimasta nella *Poliglotta* allo stato latente, forse per ragioni più contingenti che teoretiche—i rapporti settimanali con i censori lovaniensi attraversarono in più d’una occasione congiunture critiche, durante le quali un silenzio poteva valere più che due verità—fosse messa a fuoco in forma ineludibile nella lettera di Pérez del Collado; e che la richiesta di costui, d’altro lato, consentisse ad Arias Montano di far decantare, da un problema ‘tecnico’, più compiute e organiche riflessioni esegetiche. Il quindicennio che separa la pubblicazione dell’ultimo volume della *Biblia Regia* dalla lettera montaniana va tutto, per l’*ideario* del nostro, nel senso di un approfondimento dei limiti esegetici

ed ecclesiologici — oggi diremmo, scientifici e politici — imposti da un testo che il decreto *Insuper* aveva inteso imporre in forma autoritativa<sup>6</sup>.

E' in questo orizzonte problematico che occorre iscrivere la puntualizzazione montaniana. הַבְּנוִים è appunto la forma duale del vocabolo בָּנִים, che indica con grande efficacia descrittiva “qui illius belli inter utrunque populum medium sese ac periclitatorem praestare videtur”; quel ‘campione’ nel combattimento la cui posizione ‘mediale’ doveva essere ben resa, nel prosiegua del racconto biblico (*ISam*, 17, 23), dalla recensione origeniana con “μεσαῖος”, e da quella di Aquila con “μεσάζων”, su una base massoretica curiosamente identica a quella, appunto, di *ISam*, 17, 4<sup>7</sup>; e che Arias Montano lumeggia con un confronto con una lingua volgare che, meglio di altre, pareva offrire all’interlocutore quella evidenza immediata — saremmo tentati di dire, folgorante — che la mera argomentazione filologica certamente non garantiva<sup>8</sup>: “... quam versionis vim Gal[l]icus aptissime reddit sermo: *entre deux*”. Una soluzione, questa, in perfetta congruenza con una direttrice fondamentale dell’*ideario* montaniano, sempre portato ad allargare il confronto filologico a realtà linguistiche anche distanti tra loro, ma in qualche maniera utili per una migliore intelligenza del testo. I frammenti dei *Latinae*, *graecae*, *hebraicae*, *hispanae et aliarum linguarum idiotismi*<sup>9</sup>, l’*Ars ethruscorum linguae*<sup>10</sup>, il compendio

<sup>6</sup> il dibattito sulla autentica valenza ideologica del “pro authentica habeatur” è, paradossalmente e malgrado i proverbiali fiumi di inchiostro riversatisi sul tema, ancora apertissimo. Non mi parrebbe al riguardo inutile rileggersi le dense pagine del *Tractatus de Fide* di Luis de León (in *Opera*, V, [Salmanticae, 1896], p. 294; pp. 382-85), e meditare un po’ sulle sofferte conclusioni di un Andrés de Vega (*Opusculum de Iustificatione, Gratia et Meritis* [Venetiis, 1546], pp. 61-64).

<sup>7</sup> i versetti 12-31 mancano nei manoscritti dei Settanta, e già nella *Complutensis* erano stati sostituiti dalle versioni greche minoritarie. Cfr. le osservazioni del Ralphs nell’apparato ai *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart, 1952<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 534). Utili osservazioni su “μεσῖτης” e locuzioni affini in A. Van Hoyer, “Un médiateur des anges en Ga 3, 19-20”, *Biblica*, LIX (1978), 403-11.

<sup>8</sup> l’acutezza filologica dell’*aperçu* montaniano è sostanzialmente confermata dai più recenti studi sull’episodio del duello; Golia è “l’homme de l’entre-deux” anche per il De Vaux, “Les combats singuliers de l’Ancien Testament”, *Biblica*, XL (1959), 497, e il “Mittelsman” per il Krinetzki, “Ein Beitrag zur Stilanalyse der Goliathperikope (*ISam*, 17, 1 - 18, 5)”, *Biblica*, LIV (1973), 187-236. Cfr. anche — per un ulteriore allargamento alla pratica del duello fra campioni, in certo senso tipico dell’antichità orientale (ma non solo orientale), l’articolo di H. Donner, “Zum ‘Streitlustigen’ in Sinuhe B110”, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LXXXI (1956), 59-62. Ma già Calmet aveva ricordato, a questo proposito, il combattimento di Manlio Torquato contro i Galli.

<sup>9</sup> B. N. M., ms. 8588, ff. 94<sup>v</sup>-99<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Esc., ms. G. IV. 39, ff. 80<sup>v</sup>-90<sup>v</sup> (copia tarda in ms. K. III. 8, ff. 222<sup>v</sup>-237<sup>v</sup>).

*Adam, sive de humani sensus interprete lingua*<sup>11</sup>, la dissertazione sulle lingue e il loro uso<sup>12</sup>, tutti stanno lì a dimostrare lo straordinario interesse per il fenomeno linguistico, riguardato essenzialmente nella sua possibilità di essere raffrontato, analizzato e scomposto in elementi costitutivi necessariamente comuni—vale a dire, in qualcosa di ‘inerente’ ad una realtà (materiale) generalmente ‘umana’<sup>13</sup>.

Ma il fatto che, sull’espressione *אִישׁ הַבְּנִים*, gravassero con tutto il loro rispettivo peso, le soluzioni delle versioni dei Settanta e della Vulgata, imponeva ad Arias Montano di tener conto e di discutere anche queste ipotesi interpretative. E’ soprattutto nei confronti della Vulgata che più penetrante si fa il rilievo critico; e la cosa non deve certamente stupire, considerato che il riferimento alla versione geronimiana era da un lato, per così dire, obbligato—stanti il decreto tridentino e i termini del successivo dibattito politico-religioso; e dall’altro veniva a comportare, da parte delle voci più o meno dissenzienti dalla ufficiale, una buona dose di prudenza nello sviluppare con consequenzialità e franchezza i presupposti argomentativi e le inferenze esegetiche. Si può quindi, realisticamente, dire che l’obiettivo polemico di Arias Montano non sia la tradizione rabbinica, che aveva anonimamente postillato il codice Reuchlin con gustose osservazioni sulla bastardaggine di Golia<sup>14</sup>, quanto piuttosto la contorta traduzione geronimiana, un vero infortunio esegetico perseguito con l’aggravante dell’insistenza<sup>15</sup>. Di essa, Arias Montano arriva a proporre, al suo

<sup>11</sup> B.N.M., ms. 149, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-11<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> B.N.M., ms. 155, ff. 135<sup>r</sup>-141<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Gli esempi potrebbero essere innumerevoli, e tutti estremamente interessanti e centrati, a riprova di un’acuta intelligenza critica e di una inesauribile curiosità di osservatore. Il Giovenale della sesta satira è chiamato a fornire spessore argomentativo all’uso ebraico di “י” per ‘molti’; ed è risaputo che “puer domini etiam si sit senex dicitur. Eodem modo hispani ‘el moco de fulano’” (*Idiotismi* citt., f. 94<sup>v</sup>). Se qualcuno—ovviamente ispanofono—troverà difficoltà nella pronuncia del “ch” italiano, non si sgomenti: ricordi piuttosto il “ch” latino e il “χ” greco; per il suono “gn” è d’obbligo il riferimento al “ñ” spagnuolo (“... sonat ut apud Hispanos n. cum apice, ut cognato ... quo nos cuñado”); e, per le doppie, nientemeno che al *dagheš* ebraico (*Ars eth. linguae* cit., ff. 224<sup>r-v</sup>).

<sup>14</sup> “משוך רהוז סן שיבט רץ וסן ערסה דהות סן בני טואב גליח חרנם ירושלמי. נברא” “סולטרבא דאחיליד סביני שמו חרתי גיטן מן *Prophetae chaldaice*, ed P. de Lagarde (Lipsiae, 1872), p. XVI. La stessa varia etimologia del nome di Golia (Gingan - Gillui - Galut - Jälüt) darà esca alle più fantasiose—ed interessanti—leggende religiose. Cfr. ad esempio le acute osservazioni dell’Horowitz sul *legado* del *Midraš aggadah* e sulla parallela letteratura islamica. *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1926), p. 106.

<sup>15</sup> “spurius dicitur, quia a patre gigante, matre vero Gethaea natus erat”. *Quaestiones hebraicae in librum primum Regum*, Migne, P. L., XXIII, col. 1340b. L’infelice soluzione

(immaginiamo) attento e preparato interlocutore, un tentativo di spiegazione 'genetica', che si risolve nei fatti in una implicita ma non per questo meno categorica confutazione. L'errore di Girolamo è comprensibile a partire non dalle *matres lectionis* del TM, evidentemente poste — come abbiamo visto — al di là di ogni ragionevole incertezza esegetica, quanto piuttosto dalla punteggiatura vocalica ammissibile dal הכנים: non già כנים, forma plurale irregolare di כן — donde tutta la questione dello "spurius" — bensì, appunto, כנים. E qui possiamo quasi toccare con mano l'acuta intelligenza montaniana nell'inserirsi in un dibattito teorico che andava prendendo corpo, principalmente fuori di Spagna; dibattito caratterizzato in primo luogo dal superamento della ideologia medievale della falsificazione intenzionale del testo da parte dei 'rabbini'<sup>16</sup> — le acute pagine che Luís de León dedica al problema, nel *De Fide*, fanno il paio con i primi capitoli del *De Arcano sermone* montaniano — e quindi dalle revisioni di Munster, Jewel, Polanus. Tutti — si usa ripetere — in scoperta polemica anticattolica; e invece sarebbe meglio precisare: in opposizione ad una ermeneutica post-conciliare (Génébrard, Lindanus, Bellarmino) che apertamente sottovalutava l'importanza dei problemi di critica testuale, a tutto vantaggio dei temi di teologia fondamentale, ovviamente nella loro forma cristallizzata dalle definizioni tridentine.

Il richiamo montaniano al libro di Cantalapiedra è quanto mai indicativo, nel senso testé detto. Appellarsi ad un testo quale le *Hypotyposes theologicae*, che solo un quindicennio prima era stato al centro di una burrascosa vicenda inquisitoriale — tacciato di "dema-siada exégesis" da censori benevoli e di "espíritu judaizante" dai meno condiscendenti — e che ne era uscito più per ragioni estrinseche che per *viam satisfactionis*, significava nei fatti infrangere una regola deontologica inespressa, nella Spagna della *reforma*, ma non per questo meno cogente. Tanto più che il rimando e il consiglio montaniani sono — a ben guardare — quasi impertinenti. Nel luogo citato delle *Hypotyposes* invano il lettore — cioè il *condiscipulus* Pérez del Collado — cercherebbe una soluzione testuale allo specifico problema del הכנים;

di Girolamo (e degli pseudo-Girolamo) sarà ovviamente accettata — e sviluppata — dalla *traditio* medievale; cfr. ad esempio i *Commentaria* di Rabanus Maurus (in *P. L.*, CIX, col. 51).

<sup>16</sup> uno per tutti, Pérez de Valencia e la sua teoria della *corruptio* da parte dei Naqdanîm, nel *Tractatus contra Iudaeos* e nei *commentaria in Psalmos*. Cfr. W. Werbeck, *Jacobus Pérez von Valencia* (Tubingen, 1959), *passim*.

la fine del quarto libro di Martínez è invece dedicata ai grandi temi del linguaggio profetico ‘per immagini’, e alla discussione dei criteri di ‘fedeltà’ testuale che sempre devono guidare l’interprete sacro. Consigliare—come fa Arias Montano nella lettera a Pérez del Collado—la lettura diretta di queste dense pagine delle *Hypotypeses* non aveva così altro significato se non quello di invitare l’interlocutore, come incombenza preliminare ad ogni indagine filologica di dettaglio, a porre se stesso, di fronte al testo sacro, in una posizione di fondamentale onestà intellettuale e di grande spregiudicatezza ideologica; quel “saper ascoltare” quello che il testo aveva da dire, che Titelmans aveva auspicato e raccomandato mezzo secolo prima, e che un’epoca di clamori, di ordini, di vessazioni intellettuali pareva, giorno dopo giorno, sempre più negare.

Università di Pisa,  
Dipart. di lingue e  
letterature romanze



[Ms. Madrid, B.N., 152]

f. 70<sup>r</sup> Francisco Peresio Collado, viro docto studioso ac diligenti,  
Benedictus Arias Montanus S. P. D.<sup>1</sup>

Tuas ad Idus Maii Valentiae scriptas ad Calendas Sextilis in hoc meo secessu accepi opere cognati tui viri pii ex Carmelitarum familia, qui nunc Aracenae in ordinis sui coenobio degit, eiusdem etiam fidei ac sedulitati<sup>2</sup> erga te responsum hoc pro tempore breviusculum commit<t>o; namque ut fusius respondeam non permit<t>unt aliena negotia, plus centum, et assiduus labor in legendis, et rescribendis epistolis.

Tuam in propriis, et germanis verborum sacrorum interpretaetationibus indagandis solertiam, et diligentiam non modo suspicio<sup>3</sup>, et laudo, verum admiror etiam, eamque contento studio, ac felici succes<s>u promotum iri cupio, et oro. Nulla enim in omnibus artibus, iis qu<a>e<sup>4</sup> ingenio industriaque excoluntur, erudito, ac ingenuo viro com<m>endabilior cura est, quam ea quae sacris adhibetur eloquiis. Et quamquam istae, quas inter alia studia suscipis, partes duriores aliquanto, et propter  
f. 70<sup>v</sup> copiam longae admodum videantur, tamen et a conpluribus | non infeliciter tractatae sunt, et a te diligenter, ut par est, simulque modeste ac reverenter actae bonam spem faciunt oper<a>e atque industriae cum fructu atque usu ponendae; verum in hoc genere iam diu est, ex quo ipse minus quam antea versor, contentus his locis quos ad Sanctes Pagnini laborem ego collegaeque mei, ad sacri ap<p>aratus instructionem contulimus ut cum regiis bibliis, ac seorsum etiam excudenda curavimus. Ut autem quae de duobus exemplis iis quorum causa docte ad me, perbenigne, et amanter scripsisti, quod sentio breviter ponam, primum verbum illud צנה, ter tantum<m>odo in sacra lectione observatum, depres<s>ionem, defixionem, atque his af<f>inem stabilitatem immobilitatemque significare videtur. Namque ea quae figimus

<sup>1</sup> *marg.* : Canonicus fuit Ecclesiae Oriolensis, et perfamilis [*sic!*] meus.

<sup>2</sup> *sedulitate ms.*

<sup>3</sup> *marg.* : suscipio, *recte.*

<sup>4</sup> *iisque ms.*

quodammodo stabilia reddimus; atque ita illius linguae peritissimi, idem esse צנה et שמש [...] <sup>5</sup> uti nosti septimum illum praefixum quieti agrorum annum antiqui vocabant. Atque ita mulierem illam ex asel(1)o desilientem in terra fixisse immotamque hesisse intelligimus; quem habitum interpres noster semel suspirandi, iterum vero sese dimittendi, Latinis verbis descripsit, ex ingenii nimirum, et moris muliebris observatione, quod huiusmodi habitus actionesque | numquam sine gemitu, suspiriis atque interdum *lachrimis* etiam spectantur, *uberibus semper, semperque paratis in statione sua, atque expectantibus illam, quo iubeat manare...*, vt satyricus oportune adnotavit <sup>6</sup>; itaque hanc interpretaetis sacri mentem fuisse opinatus, de literarum af(f)initatibus, de vocum similitudinibus nihil ipse diligentius, uti tu ingeniose facis, laboravi.

Alter vero locus in quo גוליאט איש הכנים dicitur ab interprete nostro, absque punctis lectus pro בניִים videtur in(n)uisse בניִים, ‘vir filiorum’ <sup>7</sup>; quae lectio, cum dif(f)iciliorem redderet Latinis auribus explicationem, spurii nomine molliri posse videbatur, quod ‘filiorum’ nec tam ‘patris’ nomine adiuncto diceretur quare filiorum quidem unus, incerto tamen censeretur patre. Verum eius, qu(a)e nobis constat, lectionis atque punctorum ratione examinatum vocabulum, id significat quod per te est erudite adnotatum, videlicet medium, sive meditatorem <sup>8</sup> dicere malimus. Non qui medius vel dimidius esset cuiusquam filius, aut frater, sed qui illius belli inter utrumque populum medium sese ac periclitatorem praestare profiteretur. Dualis enim formae vocabulum est, quod ‘inter utrumque’ sive ‘inter duos’ vertere licebit; quam versionis vim Gal(1)icus aptissime reddit sermo : *entre deux*. |

f. 71<sup>v</sup> Haec, quibus tibi non tantum satisfaciendi, quam obsequendi certo animo responderem, habui; tu vero pro tua humanitate, et quam adversum me ostendis caritatem boni consules, ut ego nominis mei laudes, ac titulo boni quoque consulo, a quorum ut merito, ita etiam ambitione, et gratulatione me longe alienum sentio.

Vale, et me (quod maximi facio) amare ac Deo commendare perge.

Ex Rupe nostra Apud Aracenam. iiij Calendas Iulias 1588.

<sup>5</sup> Una linea erasa est.

<sup>6</sup> Juv., VI 273-275.

<sup>7</sup> marg.: vide Mart. Martínez, libro quarto Hypoteposeon, in fine.

<sup>8</sup> marg.: mediatorem, recte.

John M. CARTER and Frances CONDICK

A STUDY IN PATRONAGE  
FROM THE SURVIVING LETTER-BOOK OF  
DR. JOHN BASTWICK (1596-1654)

*Historical Introduction*

Dr. Bastwick is best known to historians as a pamphleteer, who assailed first Archbishop Laud and later the Independent party. It has, however, proved possible to throw a new light on his career through the use of unpublished manuscript material: full details will be found in Frances Condick's unpublished PhD thesis<sup>1</sup>. The intention of this article is not to reiterate all the points made there, but simply to provide an introduction to a series of letters which forms the largest single group amongst Bastwick's surviving correspondence. He seems to have preserved copies of his own letters, as well as those written to him, as a letter book. Eleven letters from Bastwick, as well as two addressed to him, are preserved in the Rawlinson MSS in the Bodleian

<sup>1</sup> University of London, 1983: 'The life and works of Dr. John Bastwick, 1596-1654'. Copies may be consulted at the Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, University of London; at Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, Egham, Surrey, and at the Essex Record Office, Chelmsford, Essex.

Dr. Bastwick (born in 1596 in Writtle, Essex, England), after studying under the famous Puritan Richard Rogers, went on to University, first to Cambridge and then to Leyden, returning to England in 1625 with a medical degree from the University of Padua. His acquaintance with Alexander Leighton attracted the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities after Leighton's trial for sedition, and in 1635 Bastwick was fined and imprisoned on largely trumped-up charges. Embittered by this experience, he emerged as a major critic of the Laudian regime, continuing the satirical tradition of the Elizabethan Marprelate tracts in his most well-known work, the *Letany*. In 1637, in company with William Prynne and Henry Burton, he was found guilty of seditious libel, lost his ears, and was exiled to the Scilly Isles, until freed by the Long Parliament in 1640. He was captured by the Royalists early in the Civil War, and remained a prisoner until 1644. In 1644-7 he wrote a number of works attacking the Independent party and supporting Presbyterianism: however, with the eclipse of the latter in the late 1640s, he sank into obscure poverty, dying, probably in London, in 1654.

Library, ranging in date from February 1629 to 1632<sup>2</sup>. Two further letters written by him survive in the Tanner MSS, also in the Bodleian<sup>3</sup>. A further six letters, two of which also exist in manuscript form in the British Library, are to be found in print form in Bastwick's 1635 pamphlet *Flagellum Pontificis*<sup>4</sup>. None of the letters so far listed is later in date than 1635; indeed there seem to be only two surviving letters by him from the remaining 22 years of his life; so that it is only for the relatively brief period of 1629-1635 that there is material available which was both written by Bastwick, and not intended for publication.

The letters which form the subject of this article are not only historically interesting because of their association with a well-known pamphleteer, however. They also illustrate an obscure and fascinating topic — the client/patron relationship in action. This phenomenon has, of course, long been recognised as one of crucial importance for an understanding of the period, but the nature of the surviving evidence means that it has generally been examined in connection with Court circles<sup>5</sup>. In the 1620s John Bastwick was a newly-qualified medical man, determined to make his way in the world, and anxious to secure the aid of more influential persons towards this end. Several other letters of his held in the Bodleian also concern his search for, or his appeals for help from, various patrons, but unfortunately it is not possible to identify any of the recipients with certainty<sup>6</sup>. In the case

<sup>2</sup> Bodleian Rawlinson MSS D377 1-15.

<sup>3</sup> Bodleian Tanner MSS 72/232 and 72/237.

<sup>4</sup> 'To the learned man Dr. E. G.' (*Flagellum Pontificis*, (London, 1635), pp. 1-66); 'To the most illustrious lord E. S. C. D.' (*ibid*, pp. 67-117); 'To E. S. C. D.' (*ibid*, pp. 167-180); 'To Dr. John B. Fridiano' (*ibid.*, pp. 181-193); to an unknown recipient, pp. 194-199). Manuscript copies of the two letters addressed to E. S. C. D., addressed to 'Edoardo Sackvilio Comiti Dorset' are in British Library Sloane MS 2131.

<sup>5</sup> Two recent studies which may be cited are *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham 1592-1628* by Roger Lockyer (London, 1981) and "Corruption at the Court of James I: The Undermining of Legitimacy" by Linda Levy Peck from *After the Reformation: Essays in Honour of J. H. Hexter*, ed Barbara C. Malament (London, 1980).

<sup>6</sup> The Rawlinson MSS Collection Catalogue suggests that one of the letters (D377/12) might be addressed to Archbishop Abbot. It does open 'Reverend bishop' but its contents could have been addressed to any bishop. It is possible that it was addressed to Theophilus Field, Bishop of Hereford, who provided an admiring preface to one of Bastwick's books (2nd edition of *Elenchus Religionis Papisticae*, London, 1627). Another was addressed to an unnamed lord, and begged the honour of being numbered amongst his clients (D377/10). The Catalogue suggests that this was addressed to Buckingham (d. 1628). Since this letter was sent from Colchester, where Bastwick settled in

of the correspondence printed below, the identity of Bastwick's patron is known: he was Sir Roger Manners of Whitwell in Derbyshire, a first cousin of the 3rd and 4th Earls of Rutland<sup>7</sup>. Although it is impossible to read the letters given here without forming one's own opinion of Sir Roger's personality, unfortunately this subjective view cannot be checked or supplemented from other sources. No letters from him appear to have survived amongst the Rutland MSS, and documents relating to him in the Derbyshire Record Office and the Public Record Office are only concerned with estate matters<sup>8</sup>. Sir Roger's memorial monument in Whitwell Parish Church does, however, offer some indication of those interests which must have brought about Bastwick's acquaintance with him. The verses engraved beneath Sir Roger's effigy declare that:

'A living academic was this knight  
Divinity, the arts, the tongues, what might  
In learned schools exactly be professed  
Took up their lodgings in his noble breast'<sup>9</sup>.

#### *A note on Bastwick's Latin*

Bastwick lived and wrote at a time when it was a matter of pride for a man who considered himself a scholar to write accurate and elegant Latin. Sir Rogers Mammars's account (see below, p. 153), of the quarrel between himself and Basire over a small and questionable point of syntax is a striking illustration of this. Bastwick had himself studied in the Low Countries, where there happened to be a very strong tradition of humanist philological learning. A slightly younger contemporary, one Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, who was a product of the Netherlandish tradition, and who was appointed Professor at Leiden in 1632 at the age of 20, was called a second Cicero because of his eloquence in public debate in Latin. A collection of his letters, chiefly to other scholars, was made and published in Amsterdam by his literary facto-

1630, this ascription is clearly impossible; nor is there any internal evidence to identify the recipient as Buckingham any more than any other lord.

<sup>7</sup> Sir Roger was the second son of John Manners who married Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall in a famous elopement. John Manners was the second son of the 1st Earl; eventually, after the deaths of the 5th, 6th and 7th Earls, the title reverted to this branch of the family, and Sir Roger's nephew John became the 8th Earl.

<sup>8</sup> I should like to thank both these institutions for their help in this matter.

<sup>9</sup> J. Charles Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire* (1875), vol I, entry under 'Whitwell'.

tum Jacobus Basilius. These reveal a style very similar to Bastwick's, and guarantee both the quality and normality of Bastwick's Latin by the cultivated standards of the day.

Basically, Bastwick writes a formal Ciceronian idiom, the Latin of the speeches rather than of the philosophical works or the letters. He finds it difficult to unbend when treating of everyday trivialities, and remains correct and a little stiff, in a way that the native user of the language did not. He has an excellent grasp of periodic construction: his sentences, even when they are syntactically involved, remain clear and move to a logical end. His vocabulary is enlarged from that of Cicero by words taken from Plautus, and also from later writers such as Pliny the Younger, Suetonius, and Aulus Gellius. One letter of the present group (to Parson) is interesting in this connection—Bastwick has noted down, just like any don or schoolmaster teaching Latin prose composition, a phrase from Suetonius that he wished to remember. He was sufficiently at home to invent, or perhaps borrow, words not attested in classical Latin and Greek, but instantly intelligible to anyone who knew the languages. (For example, *scripturienti*, 'having an itch to write', from a letter not included here; and τυφίχον, see note (2.2) below.) He can quote from classical Latin and Greek authors (Virgil, Homer), and also from the Greek New Testament, but his grasp of Greek—or at least, his spelling of it—is less sure than his grasp of Latin.

The occasional erasures and alterations in these letters suggest that Bastwick composed them straight on to the pages we have, no doubt sending a fair copy to the addressee. Since the sentences are sometimes quite involved, and also express nuances in idiomatic Latin which are not always easy to capture economically in English translation, it seems clear that he must have been thinking in Latin rather than writing English in Latin dress. His occasional mistakes are therefore surprising. This is particularly true of the second letter to Basire (pp. 151 below). One can imagine that over-confident young man taking malicious comfort from being rebuked in faulty Latin. Perhaps Bastwick usually took some trouble to compose his sentences in his head before committing them to paper, and when he had to write in a hurry his performance was not quite so magisterial.

There are no examples amongst the selection included here of Bastwick's Latin when applied to medical or theological matters. The reader will have to take it on trust that his style then becomes less

Ciceronian. This must be because in both fields he needed to use a vocabulary which was not classical and contained many technical coinages. No doubt, his style was also affected by the way in which the handbooks, treatises and commentaries he must have read were themselves written—and that was certainly not in the elaborate periods of Ciceronian prose, but in a Latin that was much less elegant and much more down-to-earth, not to say barbarous.

*A note on the dating and order of the letters*

The original manuscripts all bear a number in the top right-hand corner consecutively from 1-13, but it is not certain that they were added by Bastwick himself. Moreover it is highly unlikely that he received only two letters during a period of at least three years, and probable that he wrote more than survive here. It seems likely that this numbering was done at a later date and was simply a notation added for cataloguing purposes.

However, two of the letters can be dated. In the letter from Bastwick to Manners which commences 'Quam in animo meo...' there is a reference to Charles I's speech to Parliament on tunnage and poundage on 29 January 1629—an event which Bastwick describes as having occurred 'last Saturday'. We may therefore take it that the letter was written in the first week of February 1629. The other letter which is dated with certainty is Sir Roger Manners' letter to Bastwick, which Manners dated 10 September 1629. From this point on, dating must be conjectural. It would seem that Bastwick's letter to Parson, with its carefree reference to Basire, must surely have been written before any of the other letters, with their revelations of strain and discord between the young man and his patron. Bastwick's letters to Basire and to Manners—both of which bear the marks of careful and elegant composition—have been placed before his more hasty epistle to the former, with its reference to another earlier warning, surely Bastwick's first letter to the same recipient. The tone of Sir Roger's own letter would seem to indicate that the old knight was at the end of his tether: it surely marked the end of his patronage of Basire. In our epilogue we suggest a possible ending to a story which the surviving correspondence leaves tantalisingly unfinished after the letters themselves. It has been assumed, therefore, that these letters chart the collapse of a client/patron relationship during the year 1629. They also afford a glimpse of the circles in which John Bastwick was moving

in the 1620s, and shed light on the conventions and interests of those circles: an aspect of 17th-century life which remains largely unexplored.

\*  
\* \*

### THE LETTERS

(NB: the line arrangement of the Latin originals has been indicated by a slanting stroke /)

#### 1. *Bastwick to Parson* (Rawlinson MS.D.377/6)

The phrase noted above the letter, at the top left, has nothing to do with it, and was presumably jotted down on the first piece of paper that lay to hand. It is from Suetonius' *Life of Gaius* (see note 1 below). The descriptive title written above and to the right of the address to Parson would appear to be that of the work which Bastwick is now sending to him.

[written in top left]

inferias annua religione alicui / instituere. Suet: [some further words which have been erased]<sup>1</sup>

Animadversiones in synodalia scripta / remonstrantium quoad articulum / primum—sub praesidio d.d. / Guilielmi Amesii<sup>2</sup>

Parsono Bastwiccus s.

Conscius imbecilitatis meae & aliorum efficaciae qui meretricem Babylo[ni]am / mundi propudium, scriptis, dictis, factis dehonestarunt expuleruntque e Templ[o] / dei, mea qualiacumque meditamenta promenda censeo, dum illorum heroum / labos dignis plausibus decoratur; inter quos si meus in scenam forte redi[t] / conatus timendum est ne sibilis hominum qui doctissimis lucubrationib[us] / assueuerunt, exigatur. Interim rata stabit tibi promissi mei fid[es] / Te quippe futurum inter primos, sicut amicitia tua principem apud / me locum obtinuit, cui hoc nugamentum meum communicetur. D. Bas[irio] / constare valetudinem, & apud optimum Equitem amicitiam vehementissime / gaudeo. Nihil enim mihi charius<sup>3</sup> est quam e doctrina eruditissi[mi] / adolescentis voluptatem domino, e domini humanitate solatium / & ornamentum adolescenti accedere. Quod inter vos /



pergraecamini<sup>4</sup> mihi volupe est. Si mihi foret otium a / modestioribus occupationibus aliquando, tecum inciperem serio / ἐλληνίζειν. Interim te latine salvere iubeo, & si / Romano more loquenti credis, habe persuasissimum / nullum esse volentiolem tui quam Joh. Bastwic[cus].

- (1) This phrase is from Suetonius' *Life of Gaius*, ch. 15.1 'inferiasque iis [sc. the emperor's mother and sister] annua religione publice instituit' (He publicly established an annual ceremony of remembrance for them).
- (2) This would seem to be the title of the work which Bastwick was sending to Parson—"Remarks on the Synodal Writings of those who protest [the Remonstrants] about the First Article—under the presidency of Dr. William Ames".
- (3) The spelling of *carus* with the aspirate was normal at the time, cf. the pre-script of Manners' letter to Bastwick (below), and the epitaph of Elihonor Sadler in the south aisle of Salisbury Cathedral:  
Eleonora iacet coniunx mea chara sub isto marmore; ni charam flevoro marmor ero. (1622)
- (4) *pergraecari* (lit. 'to act the Greek') is a word from the vocabulary of Plautus and Terence and means, according to Festus, 'to be a slave to dinners and drinking parties'—evidently the way the Romans of the early 2nd century B.C. perceived the Greek way of life. Bastwick here surely intends it to mean 'to talk Greek'.

### Translation

Bastwick gives greetings to Parson

Although conscious of my own weakness and of the effectiveness of others who by written word, by speech, and by deed have shamed and expelled from the House of God the Whore of Babylon, I judge that my reflections, such as they are, ought to be put forward, while the toil of those other heroes wins the glory of the applause which they deserve; in this company I must be afraid that if my attempts should appear upon the stage, they may be hissed off by men who have grown used to the most learned lucubrations<sup>1</sup>. Meanwhile I intend to keep my promise to you, that just as your friendship has first place with me, you will certainly be amongst the first to whom this trifle is sent. I rejoice that Master Bas[ire]'s health, and his friendship with the excellent knight, prosper. For nothing is dearer to me than that the master should take pleasure in the teaching of a most accomplished young man, and that the young man should gain solace and distinction from the culture and learning of his master. That you talk Greek

between you pleases me. If I had some time free from more humble occupations<sup>2</sup>, I should begin in earnest on the Greek with you. Meanwhile I bid you fare well in Latin, and if you believe a speaker in the Roman tongue, hold it as most certain that no-one wishes you well more than

Joh. Bastwick.

- (1) This sentence would seem to imply that Bastwick was contemplating the publication of his views on religion—specifically, of an attack on the Whore of Babylon, the Roman Catholic Church—for the first time. The passage is very reminiscent of his remarks in *Elenchus Religionis Papisticae*, p. 218, where he apologises for his relative incompetence for the task and hopes that others will do a better job. It would seem possible therefore that Bastwick is here referring to the first appearance in England of *Elenchus Religionis Papisticae*, which actually took place in 1627.
- (2) The ‘more humble occupations’ to which he refers are probably his duties as a physician. Bastwick became a full Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians in 1627, and with the aid of his father-in-law, Dr. Leonard Poe, a royal physician, was engaged in building up a successful London practice (see Condick, F.M., “The life and works of Dr. John Bastwick, 1596-1654”, unpublished PhD thesis, University of London 1983, pp. 37-40).

## 2. *Bastwick to Manners* (Rawlinson MS D377/14)

The first 26 lines of this letter, asking Manners to show indulgence to Basire’s shortcomings, are noticeably elaborate, full of high-sounding abstract nouns, antitheses, and rhetorical doublets (e.g., line 2, & decorum & opportunum: lines 4-5, imparem & indignam aequi bonique). The remainder, dealing with the London news, is more direct.

Amplissimo viro D Rogero Maners Equiti s.p.d.

Johannes Bastwick

Vir Nobilissime

Quam in animo meo, pro tuis erga me meritis gratitudinem circumfero, his / exprimere litteris & decorum & opportunum duxi. Cum enim nihil aliud mihi / relictum sit quo voluntatem tuam & prolixum in me affectum remunerari possim, / in spem adductus sum te compensationem hanc quamvis imparem & indignam / aequi bonique consulturum. Nec pro me tantum gratias agere gestio quem / immerentem tot humanitatis & benevolentiae officiis cumulasti, sed pro meo / quoque Basirio quem in familiam et animum tuum recepisti, partibus iisdem / aveo defungi. Quem quidem ego juvenem e contubernio meo dimissum,

in / Aedes tuas tamquam in sacrarium bonarum artium inductum esse, pro meo / erga illum amore & gaudeo & serio triumpho : magna enim me spes tenet / fore ut e mutua societate tibi solatium, illi magnum in studiis & moribus / ornamentum proficiscatur. Sicut in aetate tam iuvenili praeclaras illius / dotes & amo & aestimo; sic inornatum adolescentiae robur senili tua pruden[- / tia ad maiorem regi maturitatem vehementer desidero. Qua quidem in re / gravitate & sapientia tua plurimum effectum esse non dubito. Rogo autem / ut si quid incogitantia<sup>1</sup> iuvenili praeceps offenderit, ut haec delicta virtutibus / eius condones : ut in laeta segete herbam unam vel alteram inutilem aequae feres. / Est insuper aliquid in Gallorum moribus τυφίχον<sup>2</sup> quod ab Anglicana iuventu[- / tis modestia multum dissidet : igitur ut excusationem habeas patriae genium / ab humanitate tua facile impetrabitur. Ego litteris illum & amicissimis & as- / perrimis monui ne moribus suis inquinet reliquas virtutes quas boni probant. / Non dubito quin ea sit ingenuitate ut recte monenti obtemperare velit. Ego / precibus interim tecum agere & contendere non desinam, ut eodem illum affe[- / ctu & studia eius proseguare : denique hoc summopere efflagito, ne decretorum / tuorum, si quid de illo statueris nescius sim. Summum enim in eo a te / habitum mihi honorem lubentissime profitebor. In publicis Regni negotiis / curiositatem non amo, nec peritiam vindico. Igitur quod ab omnibus / promiscue iactatur, tibi impertiam. Die Saturni novissimo convocatos in / Aulam ordines Parlamenti, Rex oratione suavi & illorum auribus acco- / modata permulsit. Fremebant enim in consiliis libertati suae vim fac- / tam esse, a vectigalium nauticorum redemptoribus. Igitur alienum a / mente sua Rex profitebatur, ea vectigalia sibi vindicare iure Regiae / potestatis, aut ut vocant, praerogativae : agnoscere se liberum populi donum / quod Regibus antiquis datum, sibi bene merito per dedecus eripi causam non esse. Orare / se ne regiarum actionum malitiosi esse interpretes quam aequi mallent : multa / temporum necessitatibus condonanda esse. Caeterum id se curaturum ne iuste / a quoquam culpari possit. & alia in eandem sententiam, quae magna astantium / admurmuratione & plausu excepta sunt. Et haec quidem in publicum laeta / miserandus Bohemiae Principis casus obnubilavit, qui 7 Jan : Harlemo / Amstelodamum cum Parente vectus, ut captivae classis Hispanae spec- / taculo frueretur, sub noctem incurrente in lembum regium nave oneraria / fluctibus obrutus et submersus est. Quae calamitas, quamquam Rex / ipse enataverit, tanta est, ut verbis exprimi

non possit. Omnium enim / Europaeorum oculos & animos spes virtutum suarum quae insolitae effulsera- / nt in se adverterat. Quod reliquum est Deum tibi propitium, teque / faventem & amicum mihi & Basirio ex animo precor. Vale.

[signature scratched out]

- (1) *incogitantia* is a pre-classical word, occurring only at Plautus, *Mercator* 27. The Ciceronian equivalents are *neglegentia* and *incuria*.
- (2) τυφιχόν is a coinage of Bastwick's from the noun τυφος, meaning delusion, affectation, or conceit, but the form ought to be τυφικόν. The same confusion of aspirated and unaspirated consonant can be seen in the contemporary spelling of *carus* and *charus* (see Letter 1. above).

### Translation

Most noble sir,

I consider it fitting and opportune to write to express my heartfelt gratitude for your services to me. For since there is no other means available to me to replay your goodwill and boundless affection towards me, I am led to hope that you will judge this correction of the account between us, insufficient and unworthy though it be, as fair and good. And it is not only on my own behalf that I long to thank you, because although I have not deserved it you have heaped sympathy and kindness upon me, but I am also eager to perform the same service for my friend Basirius, whom you have taken into your household and your affections. Because of my feelings for him I rejoice and in sober truth exult that now I have the young man away from my establishment, he has been received into your house as into a shrine of virtuous culture: I have the highest hopes that from your association you may derive comfort, & he great profit to his learning and character. Just as I love and value, in one so young, his outstanding gifts, so do I most earnestly desire his rough strength of youth to be guided by your wisdom to a greater maturity. Indeed, in this business I have no doubt that your dignity and understanding have accomplished much. Still, I ask that if he should give offence through the impetuosity and thoughtlessness of youth, you overlook these faults for the sake of his virtues: as in a good crop of corn you will put up with one or two bad weeds. There is in addition something 'affectoconceited' about Gallic ways of behaviour, which is very different from the modesty of English youth; so I feel no hesitation in asking you out of kindness to make some allowances for his native inheri-

tance<sup>1</sup>. I have warned him, in a friendly but frank letter, not to let his behaviour spoil his other qualities which good men admire<sup>2</sup>. I have no doubt that his breeding is such that he will be willing to heed the right sort of advice. Meanwhile, I will not cease begging you with all my might to treat both himself, and his learning, in the same way. Finally, I most earnestly ask you not to take any decision about him without informing me. For I shall most willingly confess that in taking him you have done me great honour.

In the public business of the realm I do not care for inquisitiveness, nor do I claim expertise. So I shall pass on to you what is on the lips of all. Last Saturday [29 January 1629] the King summoned Parliament to Court and soothed them with an agreeable and conciliating speech. For they were complaining in the House that their freedom had been infringed by the collectors of shipping taxes [tunnage and poundage]. Therefore the King declared that it was no intention of his to claim these taxes by the right of royal power, or prerogative as they term it; he recognised that it was a free grant of the people, but there was no cause why what had been granted to earlier kings, should be snatched in a disgraceful way from him, who deserved well of them. He begged them not to choose to put a malicious interpretation, instead of a fair one, on the royal actions. Allowances had to be made for circumstances. But he would take care to see that no-one had just cause to blame him. And so forth, to the same effect, which the crowd received with great approval and applause. This political good news has been overshadowed by the terrible accident of the Prince of Bohemia, who was going from Haarlem to Amsterdam, accompanied by his father, on Jan 7th, to enjoy the sight of the captured Spanish fleet, when at dusk a merchant ship ran down the royal pinnace and he was knocked down and pushed under the water. Although the King himself escaped by swimming, the disaster is greater than words can express. For the eyes and hearts of everyone in Europe had been drawn to him by the hopes they placed upon those good qualities which shone out so unexpectedly. Finally I pray with all my heart that God look kindly upon you, and that you show your favour and friendship to me and to Basirius. Farewell.

[signature scratched out]

- (1) It is clear from this remark that Basire was French. It is possible therefore that he was Isaac Basire, a Norman by birth, who by his own account attended the University of Leyden in 1625. Bastwick had himself been a

member of the University between 1617 and 1624, and they may have had mutual friends who introduced them: it will be seen later that at least one other person from the University took an interest in Basire's welfare. It should be noted that this identification cannot be accepted unhesitatingly, for in the next letter given below Bastwick gives Basire's Christian name as 'Jacobo' or James, not Isaac. The register of the University of Leyden (ed. Willem du Rieu, *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, The Hague, 1875) does not show anyone by the name of Basire as having registered as a student.

(2) This would seem to be a reference to the next letter given below.

### 3. *Bastwick to Basire* (Rawlinson MSS D377/13)

This is a careful and elegant letter, fully matching the tactfulness of Bastwick's warning to Basire.

Bastwicus Basirio S.

Litterae tuae me summo affecerunt dolore, quod amorem erga te / praestantissimi viri imminutum scribas. Equidem pro mea in te voluntate / non possum non vehementer angi, cum te quem beatissimum cuperem / in discrimen incidisse videam tantae iacturae. Quem dolorem meum / auget & exasperat tacita suspicio, tuâ vel incogitantia vel / negligentia malum hoc tibi creatum esse. Dabis enim veniam / libertati meae, si quod sentio eloquar. Quanto enim te maiori<sup>1</sup> / supellectile Bonarum Artium & scientiarum Deus instruxit, tanto / tibi impensius cavendum est ne virtutibus tuis ad nimiam confidentiam & arrogantiam videaris abuti. Quo quidem in genere / non quidem abs te malitiose peccatum puto (multa / cuiusque<sup>2</sup> & naturae = patriae genio condonanda sunt) sed nihil / ominis offendisse te nimia *παρρησία*<sup>3</sup> viri nobilis animum per- / suassimum habeo. Ego enim, quem amor tui connivere imo caecutire / ad multa coegit non pauca subinde in te animadverti quae stomachum / faciunt magnatibus viris. Est enim si nescias, hoc Anglis in more / positum, religiosa quadam modestia observare maiores, quam qui / violant odio digni inter nos & vituperatione putantur. Quocirca si / nimia disputationum licentia & pertinacia modestiae limites fueris / transgressus; si nimia in hospitali domo libertate clientis & hospitis / modum fueris oblitus, iterum & iterum te moneo ut relictis illis q[uae] / tibi pepererunt odium, ad ea te conferas quae benevolentiam tibi concili[ent] / & amorem. Nolo longis uti verborum ambagibus nam si te res ipsa non / moveat, verba non movebunt. Cave ne patroni tui amicitia excida[s] /

quae sicut impraesentia tibi ornamento est, sic illius imposterum iactur[a] / & ignominiae tibi fuerit & detrimento. Sed antequam desino, non omi[tt-] / am monere te sigillatim ne quemquam iniussus ad mensam Patroni / .voces. Hanc nos aram quasi sacrosanctam patri-familias servamus; / in cuius ius & auctoritatem sine malo tuo involare non potes. Et / hac quidem in re quin offenderis haudquaquam dubito. Memini enim qu[o] / die discessionem parabat ab urbe tuus patronus, te vocandis ad / ientaculum convivis, familiaritate domini tui fuisse abusum. Quae / quidem iniuria non patronum modo sed me & Dorislaum non / leviter attigit. Verum in nos quid peccatum est facillime condon[-] / atur. Solum hoc amore & studio tui permotus rogo ne quicquam / in nobilissimi viri domo, vel dictis vel factis offenderis: sicut enim / mihi summopere cordi est te pro meritis tuis a bonis omnibus / diligi & honestari, ita summo mihi foret cordolio, si viri honesti / pertaesi morum tuorum, reliquas etiam virtutes tuas negligere / incipiant & aversari. Vale Basiri amicissime, & si placit[um] / hoc amoris mei testimonio utere.

Ornatissimo juveni D Jaacobo (!) Basirio  
amico suo dilectissimo.

- (1) *Maiori* (found from the Middle Ages on) is Bastwick's habitual form of the correct classical ablative *maiore*.
- (2) Given the presence of the dative *genio*, Bastwick is more likely to have intended *cuiusque* than *cuique* (though either is possible) when he wrote the non-word *cuisque*.
- (3) The intrusive *a* in *παρησία* likewise seems to be a mere slip of the pen.

#### Bastwick to Basirius

Your letter saddened me very much, because you write that your distinguished patron's affection towards you is lessened. Indeed, such is my feeling for you that I cannot avoid being greatly pained, when I observe that you, for whom I would wish every happiness, have come to the point of sustaining such a great loss. This sadness of mine has been increased and irritated by the suspicion that you have brought this misfortune upon yourself by your thoughtlessness or carelessness. You will excuse the liberty, if I say what I think. For the greater the attainments in culture and knowledge with which God has furnished you, the more you yourself must take heed not to appear to misuse your qualities and become overconfident and arrogant. In this kind of matter I

have no doubt that your errors have no evil in them (for many faults are to be pardoned, being due to personal temperament and national origin) but nonetheless I am very certain that you have offended your nobleman by excessive freedom of speech. My own affection for you has compelled me to wink at, or rather shut my eyes completely to, a great deal; but I have noticed from time to time not a few things which make great personages wroth. Perhaps you are not aware that it is a custom of ours in England to be scrupulously deferential to our elders, and those who ignore this rule are considered to be deservedly hated and abused. Wherefore, if you have overstepped the bounds of moderation by your excessive freedom and obstinacy of argument; if you have forgotten the role of a dependant and guest by behaving in too free a manner in your host's house, I cannot advise you too often to abandon what has brought ill-feeling against you and adopt behaviour which will ensure goodwill and affection. I do not beat about the bush, because if the facts themselves do not move you, words will not. Be careful not to forfeit the friendship of your patron; just as it does you credit at the present time, so any loss of it in the future will bring you disgrace and do you no good. But before I conclude, let me not forget to warn you particularly not to ask anyone to your patron's table without his bidding. This we keep as though it were an altar sacred to the head of the household. You cannot trespass upon his rights and his authority without suffering for it, and I have no doubt that in this respect you have given offence. For I recall that on the day your patron was preparing to leave town, you abused your intimacy with your master by asking friends to breakfast. This offence made an impression not only on your patron but also on myself and Dorislaus<sup>1</sup>—although your transgression against us is easily pardoned. This only I ask of you, because of my love and affection for you, not to give any offence, whether in word or deed, in the house of a nobleman. Just as it is very dear to my heart that you should be loved and honoured by all good men in accordance with your deserts, so it would pain me most grievously if decent men were to grow tired of your ways and begin to turn away and ignore the other qualities you have. Farewell, my dear Basirius, and please treat this as proof of my affection for you.

To his very dear friend, and most accomplished young man, Master James Basirius.



- (1) The only person of this name known to have been in England at this date was Isaac Dorislaus, formerly a lecturer at the University of Leyden, and Greville Lecturer in History at Cambridge, from 1627-1628. Dorislaus's first home in England was under the roof of Sir Humphrey Mildmay at Wanstead in Essex, which was Bastwick's home county, and it may have been through this circumstance that Bastwick renewed a friendship perhaps first formed at Leyden. For an outline of Dorislaus's career see F. M. Condict's PhD thesis (cited above), note 50, chapter 2, and the sources cited therein.

#### 4. *Bastwick to Basire* (Rawlinson MS D377/1)

This letter shows clear signs of the haste in which it was evidently written.

Bastwicus Basirio S.

Bihorio post quam meas ad te dederam, tuae mihi redditae / fuerant<sup>1</sup>, quae dolorem meum certe geminauerunt. Animadverto / enim tuam cum Equite discordiam in dissidium<sup>2</sup> imo pene<sup>3</sup> divortium / erupisse. Ego prioribus litteris meis salutari te ni fallor consilio / monui, ut modestiae lites & humilitati. Crede mihi nulla non / magnatum te domus evomet, si nimia ἀνθαδεία fatigaveris / Patroni tui patientiam. Et sane prout hodie volvuntur res / mortalium, in tanta bonarum artium negligentia & contemptu, / non debet tibi<sup>4</sup> displicere fortunae tuae quamvis haud ita lautae / apparatus. Plurimos hic fortuna quanquam optimis artibus / instructos, gravioribus ludibriis exagitat. Novi enim praestantes / aliquot adolescentes quibus ad victum & amictum ipsa desunt necessaria. / Tibi sane sub ipsum inchoatae fortunae initium largior scena est. / Quocirca enitere ut modestia promerere tui Patroni favorem : / novi enim illius animum in virtutes tuas propensissimum, haud / alia ratione quam nimia confidentia & ἀλαζονεία tua alienatum / esse. Caeterum ne vanitate inanissimae spei, tuae fortunae facies / iniuriam, rogo te ne magis immorigerum te Patrono praebeas ob / fiduciam quam de meo erga te amore concepisti. Quanquam / enim te summopere diligam & dotes tuas plurimi faciam, / eam tamen esse mihi vitae conditionem scito, ut desiderio tuo / mecum hospitandi adhuc satisfacire<sup>5</sup> minime possim. Igitur in ea / quam tibi Deus imposuit statione si perseveres<sup>6</sup> rectissime tibi / commodisque tuis consules. Crede enim mihi asseveranti difficilem / tibi fore vitae conditionem, si hac amissa, ad novam investigandam / te fortuna adegerit. Litteras tuas Dorislao<sup>7</sup>, dedi qui / ad haec tua mala vehementer dolet<sup>8</sup>, quibus opem ferre tamen / haud ita facile poterit.

Unum addo, si divinatorum / studiorum amor tenet, exere<sup>9</sup> nobis animi tui specimen in / religione & humilitate, quo sacrificio nullum potentius & / Deum & homines placat. Vale Basiri amicissime / & me ama.

- (1) The pluperfect *fuera*nt (for *fuera*nt) is the sole epistolary tense in the letter. One might have expected, for example, that Bastwick would have continued with *animadverti* at the start of the following sentence, but he reverts to the normal idiom of English.
- (2) *Dissidium*, if not simply a 17th century spelling of *discidium*, seems to have arisen from a confusion of the latter and *dissensionem*. Either word would make good sense.
- (3) i.q. *immo paene*
- (4) *non debet tibi* for *non debes* appears to be unparalleled in classical Latin.
- (5) *satisfacire* for *satisfacere* is a surprising error for Bastwick.
- (6) *perseveres* is a most uncomfortable subjunctive, indicating as it does a remote future possibility ('if you were to continue ...') and it is almost certainly a slip for either the present or the future indicative (*perseveras*, *perseverabis*).
- (7) The comma is a relic of some other words scratched out before *dedi*
- (8) *ad haec tua mala ... dolet* lacks a classical parallel. *Doleo* is normally constructed with a plain accusative or ablative, and occasionally with *ob*, *pro*, *ex*, *ab*, *de*, or *super*, but apparently never with *ad*.
- (9) i.q. *exsere*

Bastwick to Basirius, greetings.

Two hours after I had sent off my letter to you, yours was handed to me, which made me doubly sad. For I see that your difference with the knight has broken out into quarrelling, in fact into almost open rupture. In my previous letter, if my memory serves, I gave you some advice and warned you to cultivate modesty and humility<sup>1</sup>. Believe me, there is no great house that will not spew you out, if you wear out your patron's patience by being excessively wilful. And indeed, with men's affairs as uncertain as they are today, when good education and attainments are so neglected and despised, you ought not to look down upon the means of your material prosperity, modest though that may be. There are in this world very many excellently educated people whom Chance makes worse mock of. I know several outstanding young men who do not even have the means to buy food and clothing. Certainly for you the prospect is less restricted at the very beginning of your path to fortune. So exert yourself and win the favour of your patron by your modesty. I know he is very well disposed towards your good qualities, and has been alienated for no other reason than your

over-confidence and unfitting behaviour. But so that you do not harm your prospects by cherishing the emptiest of hopes, I beg you not to make yourself less accommodating to your patron because of any trust that you may have placed in my regard for you. For although I love you dearly and have the greatest respect for your gifts, you must realise that my condition of life is such, that up to now I have been quite unable to satisfy your desire to live in my house. So if you continue in the station which God has granted you, you will be doing the very best thing for yourself and your interests. Believe me when I declare that your way of life will be difficult if you abandon this one and are compelled by Fortune to seek another. I have given your letter to Dorislaus, who is profoundly sorry for these misfortunes of yours, but cannot nevertheless easily give you any help<sup>2</sup>. I add one point, if you love theology, produce for us, in a religious and humble spirit, an example of your thought; no sacrifice is more effective than this to placate both God and man.

- (1) This would appear to be a reference to the letter printed as no. 3 above.
- (2) See note 1 to letter no. 3. If this letter was written, as would seem to be the case, during 1629, then this sentence may refer to Dorislaus's loss of his Cambridge lectureship in 1628, which left him in a somewhat difficult position and certainly unable to offer help to others for a while.

##### 5. *Sir Roger Manners to Bastwick* (Rawlinson MS D377/9)

Manners' lengthy initial apology in almost flawless Latin for the inadequacy of his linguistic achievements is really a way of flattering Bastwick before proceeding to complain about Bastwick's protégé. Manners knows Greek, can produce grammatical examples to bolster a philological argument, quotes the Younger Pliny *verbatim*, and writes elaborate sentences with a good command of Latin vocabulary. There are four actual mistakes: the false form *crederim* for *crediderim* (line 18); the imperfect *statuerem* for the present *statuam* (line 58); the indicatives *est* and *fuit* (line 49) where subjunctives would be correct; and an unnecessary *eam* (line 15), where it seems that he embarked on one construction, became diverted by his complimentary aside about Bastwick's mastery of Latin, and ended up with another. There are also a couple of non-Ciceronian usages which Bastwick would probably have avoided: at line 26, the indicative *est* is surprising, such a construction being normally found only after exclamations (e.g., *aspicite ut ...*) and at lines 33-34 the ablative expressing duration of time is not normal until the first century A.D. The spelling of *exercendi* and *exercitium* with an extra c, *exc-* is odd, and the punctuation, at least by our standards, is capricious though not positively misleading.

On the linguistic quarrel between Manners and Basire (lines 36-45), the verdict must be *non liquet*. The construction *cavere de aliqua re* (to take care in the matter of something) is found, though not at all commonly, in all periods of Latin as well as in Cicero. Much more usual is *cavere* + dative of the person or thing to be cared for. Thus, *cave tibi* ("Take a care for yourself") or *cave tuis digitis* ("Take a care for your fingers") would presumably have met with the pernickety Basire's approval. His objections to the blind theologian's expression will have been that it was pleonastic (since there is no need for both *tibi* and *tuis digitis*) and unusual (since the construction with *de* is rare). On the other hand, Plautus can write *de illis verbis cave tibi* ("Take a care for yourself over those words", *Menaechmi* 931), which is an exact parallel in construction; so that although the offending expression was inelegant and verbose, it was still comprehensible and grammatically correct. One would like to know what examples Sir Roger produced to defend his friend. If they were à propos he was a considerable scholar.

Illustrissimo viro : Domino Iohanni Bastwicke

in Medicina Doctori : Amico suo charissimo. Rogerus Manners. S.D.

In prima Epistolae meae parte, liceat mihi praefari (Illustrissime vir) / quod iam antea professus sum, nullis meis viribus confisum me / in hoc scribendi genus descendere, Qui nimirum mihi conscius / sim Latinam orationem a me alienissimam esse, ac proinde non / esse mirum si parum composite, aut minus eleganter scribam : / At dicat (forte) aliquis, nimium nugator es, quum malueris / culpam deprecari, quam culpa vacare : Nam excusatione uti, / veniamque petere solemus, aut cum imprudentes erravimus / aut cum compulsi peccavimus; Mihi equidem ita natura / comparatum est, ut ad omne Eloquentiae genus prorsus sim / rudis, nec sperem vel minimos in ea progressus facere, / sin vero necessitas requirat alio me uti (praeterquam / vernaculo nostro) idiomate, et mihi optio detur, malim / sermonem Gallicum, excercendi [sic] mei gratia, addiscere quam / hunc: Iam vero, quoniam tibi placuit hoc excercitium, atque / haec consuetudo linguae Latinae, qui ita epistolas scribis, ita / controversias Theologicas tractas, ut Musas ipsas Latine / loqui facile crederim [sic], Non recuso in hac re tibi morem gerere / usquedum me hoc onere sublevare dignaris: Postulo igitur / quod aequum est, ut mihi ignoscas, si quid erratum sit. / Restat quod scire te velim, inter me et Dominum Basirium eveni- / re saepenumero et iurgia et lites, non quales eae sunt de quibus / loquitur Secundus. Ἀγαθὴ δ' ἔρις, quum invicem se mutuis ex- / hortationibus, Amici ad amorem immortalitatis, tamquam stimu- / lis, exacuunt<sup>1</sup>:- neque enim patitur ille officii sui se admoneri : / Nosti eius indolem,

ut est gloriae cupidissimus: Et habet / quidem Gloria (praesertim in studiis) quiddam ἀκοινώνητον: / Nec me meorum in eum beneficiorum paenitet, modo ea / grate interpretetur, nec antiquiora subvertat, dum nova / speret. Nuperrime ridebis sane futilem de lana Capri- / na disceptationem. Caecus quidem, professione Theologus, / sed qui in literis et rerum cognitione minime caecutit, utpote / qui Cantabrigiensis, et in artibus magister sit, mecum die / una vel altera commoratus est. Is in aliquo Negotio quod / ipsis intervenit (nescio an dum fumum simul sumerent) / Dominum Basirium alloquitur: Cave (inquit) tibi de digitis / tuis: haec loquendi formulam (postquam vir ille domum / se recepisset) mihi retulit Dominus Basirius, subsannans homuncionem / tanquam incongrue loquutum. quum ego affirmarem satis / id posse Latine dici, et quaedam subiungerem exempla / analogae, ille autem negando persisteret, nec redderet / rationem, et me quoque incitiae quodammodo argueret, / tantae simultates subito exortae sunt, ut postea per / quatuor fere dies continuos, altum inter nos fuerit / silentium. Tu (quaeso) pro summa tua humanitate qua in / eum semper propensus fuisti, si genus et parentes / eius tibi noti sunt, rationem aliquam excogita, qua / Patri eius innotescat, quo apud me in praesens statu / est et unius anni spatio fuit: Miror enim quo pacto / possit in Anglia tam diu ab omnibus propinquis et cognatis / suis, si quos habet, delitescere. /

A domino Ambrosio Regimortero (quem honoris causa / nomino) poteris cognoscere ubi habitat pater Basirii / nostri, nam ei literas suas commisit ad patrem / suum (ut ipse ait) dandas. Huius rei certiore te / facere in animum induxi, quandoquidem a te in / mandatis habeo ne quid te inconsulto de domino Basirio / statuerem. Vale, et hanc Epistolam postquam / perlegisti, Vulcano (si placet) trade. / Whitwelliae Septembris. 10. / 1629

- (1) Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* III, 7, 15: 'Scio te stimulis non egere ... Ἀγαθὴ δ' ἑστὶς cum invicem se mutuis exhortationibus amici ad amorem immortalitatis exacuunt'. The Greek is from Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 24.

To the illustrious Master John Bastwicke, Doctor of Medicine, and dearest friend of his, greeting from Roger Manners.

In the first part of my letter, let me (most distinguished sir) say by way of preface something which I have already previously declared, that it is with no confidence in my own powers that I turn to this sort of

writing, as I am very well aware that use of the Latin tongue is most foreign to me and so it is no wonder if I write disjointedly or with insufficient elegance. But someone (perhaps) may say, You trifle too much, since you prefer to seek pardon for a fault rather than avoid it: for we usually make excuses and ask for forgiveness, either when we have made a mistake through carelessness, or have sinned under compulsion. For my part, Nature has ensured that I am not much practised in any sort of eloquence and I have no expectation of making even the smallest progress in it, but if necessity were to demand that I use another language (apart from our vernacular), and I had the choice, I would prefer to learn French, to exercise myself, rather than this Latin. But since you like this exercise and this use of the Latin language—for you write letters and handle theological controversies in such a way that I could easily believe the very Muses speak Latin—I shall not refuse to humour you on this point until you decide to relieve me of the burden: I ask, therefore, as is fair, that you forgive me any mistakes. There remains what I would wish you to know, that between me and Master Basirius quarrels and differences are constantly arising, and not the sort of which Pliny speaks, 'Fine is contention', when friends spur each other on by mutual encouragement, as if by goads, to the love of immortality. But Master Basirius does not allow himself to be reminded of his duty. You know his character, avid for glory. And there is something exclusive about glory (especially in the field of learning). Not that I regret my kindness to him, but I would have him recognise it and not destroy the old while he hopes for the new. Very recently (you'll be amused by this futile argument over a trifle) a blind acquaintance of mine, a theologian by profession, but not unaccomplished in literature and general learning as befits a Cambridge man and Master of Arts, was staying with me for a day or two. The were doing something in company (perhaps they were both smoking) when he said to Master Basirius 'Take care for yourself for your fingers'—those were his words: when my guest had gone home, Master Basirius reported this expression to me, mocking the fellow for committing a solecism. When I said that I was sure that could be said in Latin, and produced some similar examples, he still persisted in denying it, but would not argue the matter and in a kind of way accused me too of ignorance. Such a coolness at once arose between us, that we exchanged not a word for four or five days afterwards. I beseech you, by the great kindness you have always been disposed to

exercise towards him, if you know his family and parents, think of some means whereby his father may realise how he is with me at present, and has been for the space of a year; I am amazed how he can lurk so long in England away from all his relatives and connections, if he has any<sup>1</sup>. You will be able to discover from Master Ambrosius Regimorterus<sup>2</sup> (whom I name without prejudice) where our Basirius' father lives, because Basirius entrusts him with his letters to give to his father (as Basirius himself says). I have been induced to inform you of this matter because I have it as one of your instructions not to take any decision about Master Basirius without consulting you<sup>3</sup>. Farewell, and when you have read this letter, consign it (please) to the flames.

Whitwell, September 10, 1629<sup>4</sup>

- (1) This sentence clearly implies that Basire had arrived under Sir Roger's roof at least by 1628, and therefore that all these letters may be dated to that period.
- (2) Dr. Ambrosius Regimorterus was Minister of the Dutch Church in London 1608 to 1624. In 1629 he was probably still resident in London, since he died there in 1639 (see Moens, W.J.C., *The Register of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars 1571-1874*, Lymington, 1884, p. 200). Another indication that the University of Leyden may have formed the initial means of contact between Bastwick and Basire is the fact that Dr. Regimorterus was a graduate of the University (*Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae*, ed. Willem du Rieu, The Hague, 1875, p. 72).
- (3) See Letter 2, p. 144 above.
- (4) Sir Roger's seat was at the Manor House of Whitwell, which had passed into the possession of the Manners family in the 16th century. A brief account of the property by Edward P. Gallagher appeared in *Derbyshire Countryside*, vol 18, no. 2, April 1950.

\*  
\* \*

### *Epilogue*

Unfortunately no further information on Sir Roger Manners and his conceited young protégé has come to light from Bastwick's surviving papers. However, if the identification of Basire as the Norman Isaac Basire is correct, a possible end to the story can be provided from other sources. In October 1629 (the month after Sir Roger's letter), he was received into holy orders by the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, John Morton, who was a close personal friend of the Manners family.

Perhaps Sir Roger decided that the only way to rid himself of Basire was to find him a new patron. If this was the same Basire, then his subsequent career cannot have gratified his former friends Bastwick and Dorislaus, both of whom favoured puritan reforms of the Church of England and who were to be prominent supporters of Parliament during the Civil War. Basire quickly made his mark as an adherent of the so-called Laudian group of ecclesiastics and by 1641 had become a personal chaplain to the King. It may not, perhaps, be too far-fetched to see his career as to some extent the revenge of a client who had failed to obtain what he wanted from his earliest patrons—and certainly caused those patrons a great many problems<sup>10</sup>.

Royal Holloway College  
University of London

<sup>10</sup> The sources for this epilogue will be found in footnotes 53 and 54 to Chapter 2 of the Condick PhD thesis cited above.



K. P. HUBKA

STYLOMETRIC TEST FOR AUTHORSHIP OF A SUPPOSED  
COMENIANUM, EXPLICATIO CAUSAE  
MOVENTIS NATURALIS.

1. *Present State of the Question*

The aim of this paper is modest: A stylometric argument for the non-Comenian authorship of the fragment *Explicatio causae moventis naturalis in mobili perpetuo* (DJAK 12, 347f.), which is based on the statistics of the sentence and word length of this fragment, as compared with the same statistics of the definitely Comenian *De arte spontanei motus ... relatio* (DJAK 12, 313-323), is to be added to the philologic arguments of J. Nováková to the same effect, namely that it is very unlikely that the fragment *Explicatio* was written by Comenius.

There are three arguments offered by J. Nováková in support of her statement (DJAK 12, p. 349). The first is mainly drawn from the content matter of the fragment, the second—and partly also the first—might be termed as terminological whereas the third regards the meaning articulation and sentence rhythm. This is what they state:

(1) Automati hoc fragmento (sc. *Explicatione*) propositi *causa movens* (qui terminus ter et vicies reperitur) esse debuit *spiritus ille astralis* Paracelsi ... Contra machina Comeniana ... *ponderum vi cum rotarum, cylindrorum, globorum systemate in harmoniam reductorum agitabatur*.

(2) Vi dixi, alias *virtute tractorice, virtute movente, virtute*, nam Comenius tota vita normam illam classicam de vocum variatione fideliter tenebat ...; terminum "causa", nimis scholasticum, de PM (=perpetuo mobili) disserens nusquam posuit, nisi in allegationibus.

(3) Insuper *Explicationis sensa parum clare* ab invicem sunt *distincta*, Latinitas *eurhythmia caret* adeoque *lectu est difficilis*, quorum vitiorum nullo nullum verum Comenianum laborat.

Though it may seem paradoxical it is not the argument (1) and (2) but the argument (3) that could be decisive for the authorship

attribution. It is quite probable that the construction of a perpetuum mobile (PM) out of *ponderibus* and *rotis* at precise weight and measure ratios need not, at that time, have meant that a constructor might not resort to *spiritus astralis* as to an additional *causa movens* and vice versa.

The third argument, however, is formulated in excessively subjective terms and seems to be too partially in favour of the elegance of the Comenian Latin style. A reader who is not taken in by the way Comenius expresses himself may have the contrary impression, namely that the style of the author of *Explicatio* is smooth, clear and quiet, that the limited variation of the basic term *causa movens* is appropriate for the description of the results of the applied art of mechanics, while the style of Comenius is full of agitation and of rhetoric digressions that rather tend to overshadow the true essence of the apparatus he has produced and cast doubts on the plausibility of its construction.

The only fact that can be maintained about the two texts with a high degree of certainty is the positive impression of difference between the style of *De arte* and that of *Explicatio* felt by any impartial reader.

## 2. *Definitions and the Choice of Samples*

So as to give this impression of difference a quantitative expression two kinds of measurement currently used in the statistical stylometry have been used here. More specifically, to pinpoint the excited/quiet feature of style in the two texts the counting for the assessment of the sentence length distribution has been carried through and supplemented by that for the assessment of the word length distribution. While counting the frequency of a word of a certain given length, measured in the number of letters or graphemes, there should be no practical difficulty as to what is to be understood under the concept 'printed word'. There are, however, both practical and theoretical difficulties as to the question how the limits of the sentence should be set while counting the frequency of sentences having a definite length, measured in the number of words.

Considering the restricted extent of *Explicatio*, 64 lines of its edition published in DJAK 12, one is faced with the problem of a small sample that should represent the population of the remaining writings of the author of *Explicatio*. Under these circumstances it is practically

impossible to define the sentence length as the length of the segment reaching from a fullstop to a nearest fullstop, since the sum total of the sample sentences would be an insignificantly small number. Even if it were not for the restricted extent of the sample it must be taken into account that in the modern editions of the Latin texts the signalization of the boundaries of the Latin periods by means of capital letters and fullstops is rather a matter of convention than that of grammatical necessity as it is the case in the modern language texts. Also, the Latin period may very easily take up the space corresponding to a whole paragraph of the modern language text, which usually consists of a considerable number of the simple sentences. These are the reasons why looking for the difference between any two sentence length distributions that might be viewed as reflecting the difference of style in which the two corresponding Latin texts have been written cannot lead to any sensible result unless the concept of the sentence length defined as the length of the Latin period is abandoned.

In the following statistics the "sentence" to be counted as a basic unit for measurement of the sentence length distribution has been delimited as the "immediate dependence field" of *verbum finitum*. In a few special instances the "immediate dependence field" of *verbum infinitum* has been considered to form a basic sentence unit. So instead of *sentence* or *period* one has rather to do with what is usually called *clause*, namely coordinate, subordinate and participial or infinitive clause. Only the clearest cases among the participial and infinitive clauses have been counted as autonomous units, i.e. the types that in the so-called "modern western" European languages fulfil the same signifying function as the conjunction clauses. They are: *accusativus cum infinitivo*, *nominativus cum infinitivo*, *ablativus substantivum cum participio*, i.e. the so-called *ablativus absolutus*, and a few cases of nominative or accusative complementary participle with rich dependency and thus clearly susceptible of being substituted by a relative clause. There is an additional reason for delimiting a "sentence" in this way. The richness of dependency of a "nuclear verbal form" is usually supposed to represent, to a large extent, the capability of an individual's mind to store in his memory a more or extensive hierarchical structure of meanings which underlies a corresponding clause. Therefore the "sentence" definition of this kind and the subsequent establishment of the "sentence" length distribution should clearly be more indicative of the difference between two individual

styles, given the same theme of samples to be compared, than the "period" length distribution might prove to be.

It was mentioned above that the extent of the sample representing the population of writings of the unknown author of *Explicatio* is given by the extent of *Explicatio* consisting of altogether 69 sentences. The theme of this text is the explanation of the principle of *perpetuum mobile* (PM) and it is being denoted here as E. Three samples of approximately the same extent, i.e. of ca. 70 "sentences" have been chosen from *De arte* (A). Each of them has a slightly different theme. The first (DJAK 15, p. 313 line 1 through p. 314 line 15, not counting the quotations from Seneca and Claudianus) deals with the history of PM and is being denoted here as A1, the second (DJAK 15, p. 314 line 30 through p. 315 line 28) deals with the principle of PM and is being denoted here as A2, the third (DJAK 15, p. 319 line 32 through p. 320 line 36) deals with the utilization of PM and is being denoted here as A3.

The main steps of the stylometric procedure, which is to be described in more detail in the next two sections, are the following.

(1) An attempt is made to decide by means of the  $\chi^2$ -test whether the sentence length frequencies of A1 A2 A3, which it is possible to establish with a sensible relative error, deviate from the so-called theoretical frequencies only to such an extent that the so-called  $H_0$ -hypothesis, here interpretable as a statement of homogeneity of the Comenian text A, can be accepted.

(2) If so, similar comparison between the texts A2 and E, chosen so as to cover the same theme, is attempted in order to decide whether the  $H_0$ -hypothesis can be rejected. If so this can be interpreted as a statement of heterogeneity of the two texts and conceived of as an argument in favour of J. Nováková's contention that Comenius is not the author of E.

(3) An additional check of the heterogeneity of A2 and E is carried through by comparing the word length frequencies, also by means of the  $\chi^2$ -test, much along the same lines as in points (1) and (2). So as to attain approximately the same length of A2 as that of E, i.e. 623 and 628 words resp., A2 has been slightly extended in order to cover DJAK 15 p. 314 line 30 through p. 315 line 44.

### 3. Statistical Test

The  $\chi^2$ -test to be used here is one among many statistical significance tests that assess the difference between chance quantities. Very clear and simple description of this test is given in Kenny's book (1982: 105-119). In what follows the  $\chi^2$ -test was evaluated in much the same way as shown in examples given by Kenny. Those who are interested in the mathematical theory on which the test is based are referred to e.g. Brunk's book (1975: 316-321, 361-367).

In our case the fit between the observed and theoretical frequencies that are listed in and gained from a set up two-dimensional contingency table, having m-number of rows and n-number of columns, has been tested.

In such a case the acceptance of the  $H_0$ -hypothesis means that the difference between the observed and theoretical frequencies stays within the limits of chance influence. Roughly speaking this amounts to the assumption that there is some proportionality between the values appearing in the identical rows of two different columns.

If one measures the significance of the sentence length difference among A1 A2 A3 and then of the sentence/word length difference between A2 and E one deals with the tables where the columns—in statistician's terminology—represent the variation of the *nominal* marker and the rows that of the *cardinal* marker. The nominal marker varies either within the above three Comenian texts having different themes or within the above two texts having identical themes. The cardinal marker varies correspondingly to the intervals of sentence/word length.

The *theoretical* frequency of the i-row and j-column intersection is defined as:

$$f_{o-ij} = \frac{f_i \cdot f_j}{N}$$

where

$f_i$  is the i-row marginal frequency, i.e. the sum of all frequencies in the i-row,

$f_j$  is the j-column marginal frequency, i.e. the sum of all frequencies in the j-column

N is the sum total of all frequencies of the contingency table

$$N = \sum_{i=1}^m f_i = \sum_{j=1}^n f_j$$

The value of the  $\chi^2$  is given by formula :

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^m \sum_{j=1}^n \frac{(f_{ij} - f_{o-ij})^2}{f_{o-ij}}$$

where  $f_{ij}$  is the *observed* frequency at the i-row and j-column intersection.

This value is then compared with the *critical* value  $\chi^2_{\alpha, v}$ , which can be found in any kind of the statistical tables for a chosen significance level  $\alpha$  and the corresponding  $v = (m-1)(n-1)$ . Here the significance level  $\alpha = 5$  p.c. has been chosen.

Rejection of the  $H_0$ -hypothesis, i.e. if  $\chi^2 \geq \chi^2_{\alpha, v}$  holds, can be interpreted in the sense that there *is a significant* relationship between the two markers. While using this procedure as a test of authorship the above statement can be considered to claim that the two different texts dealing with the same theme *might* signalize *two different* authors.

Acceptance of the  $H_0$ -hypothesis, i.e. if  $\chi^2 < \chi^2_{\alpha, v}$  holds, can be interpreted in the sense that there *is no significant* relationship between the two markers, and consequently that the texts *might* have originated from the *same* author.

#### 4. Presentation of Results

The results of the sentence length counting in the three Comenian and the one supposedly non-Comenian text are shown in Table 1. For instance, in the text A1 there are 37 "sentences" having the sentence length from 1 to 5 words. If the absolute frequency  $f_{1-5} = 37$  as related to the sum total  $N' = 71$  sentences in A1, i.e. the relative frequency  $\phi$ , were to be approximated to the occurrence probability of the 1 to 5 words sentence length inside the population of say all Comenian texts on PM, it follows from the theory of 95% confidence interval that for the above frequency and extent of the sample A1 this occurrence probability has been gained with the relative deviation  $d = 33\%$ .

Note. Here the quantity  $d$  has been evaluated from the formula :

$$d = \frac{2}{\sqrt{f_k}} 100\%,$$

which results from :

$$d = \frac{2}{\sqrt{N' \cdot \phi}} \text{ and } \phi = \frac{f_k}{N'}$$

For the theory behind the formulae see e.g. Kemeny (1959 : 476).

Table 1. Sentence Length

SL	A1		A2		A3		E	
	f <sub>k</sub>	d°	f <sub>k</sub>	d°	f <sub>k</sub>	d°	f <sub>k</sub>	d°
1- 5	37	33	34	34	31	36	14	53
6-10	24	41	25	40	28	38	41	31
11-15	8	71	8	71	13	55	6	82
16-20	1	200	3	115	—	—	5	89
21-25	1	200	—	—	2	141	2	141
26-30	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	200

f <sub>ij</sub>	A1	A2	A3	f <sub>i</sub>
1- 5	37	34	31	102
6-10	24	25	28	77
11-15	8	8	13	29
f <sub>j</sub>	69	67	72	208

f <sub>o-ij</sub>	A1	A2	A3
1- 5	33,8	32,9	35,3
6-10	25,6	24,8	26,7
11-15	9,6	9,3	10,0

$\chi^2 = 2,36 < \chi^2_{0,05; 4} = 9,49$

f <sub>ij</sub>	A2	E	f <sub>i</sub>
1- 5	34	14	48
6-10	25	41	66
11-15	8	6	14
f <sub>j</sub>	67	61	128

f <sub>o-ij</sub>	A2	E
1- 5	25,1	22,9
6-10	34,5	31,5
11-15	7,3	6,7

$\chi^2 = 12,24 \geq \chi^2_{0,05; 2} = 5,99$

	A1	A2	A3	E
N'	71	70	74	69

$N' = \sum_{k=1}^6 f_k$

It is a habit to work with the frequencies that are established with the relative deviation not higher than 30%. Therefore only the frequencies up to the 11 to 15 sentence length interval are eligible for the use in  $\chi^2$ -test. In this last interval, however, the results must be viewed with the utmost caution.

First the relevant frequencies for A1 to A3 were compared and  $\chi^2$  evaluated. Since the comparison with the critical value of  $\chi^2$  had shown that there is *no significant* relationship between the marker determined by the variation inside the Comenian texts and that given by the varying sentence length interval, it is possible to make a qualified statement that the Comenian style is *homogeneous* as to the countings of sentence length made here.

Second, the sample A2, which as far as the theme is concerned stands closest to E, has been chosen and its relevant frequencies were compared with those of E. The evaluated  $\chi^2$  when compared to the critical value shows that there *is a significant* relationship between the marker determined by the transition from the Comenian text A2 to the supposedly non-Comenian text E and the marker given by the varying sentence length interval. This again can be considered, with the due qualifications for the accuracy and reliability of the method, as an indicator of a certain *heterogeneity* between the style of Comenius and that of the author of E.

The results of the word length counting and tests are given in Table 2. Because of the reason given in the previous paragraph, only A2 and E were compared as to their word length distribution. Again the absolute frequencies eligible for comparison are those established with the relative deviation near the value of 30%, i.e. those corresponding to the word length from 2 through 11 letters.

On one hand it can be expected that in case of the words ranging in their length from 2 through 5 letters there is *no significant* relationship between the marker determined by the varying of the two texts and that determined by the varying of the word length. The reason behind this fact is that the words in this range are mostly grammatical particles, e.g. *et*, *non*, *quam*, *talem*, etc. This has been shown by the  $\chi^2$ -test for this range. Note that compared to the approximately identical extent of A2,  $N' = 623$  words, and that of E,  $N' = 628$  words, the number of the 2 through 5 letter words is higher in A2, i.e. 296, than in E, i.e. 250. Most of the words in this range being conjunctions, this difference might correspond to the higher number of short sentences in A2 as compared with their lower number in E (cf. Table 1).



Table 2. Word Length

WL	A2		E	
	$f_k$	d%	$f_k$	d%
1	2	141	1	200
2	60	26	50	28
3	72	24	67	24
4	73	23	62	25
5	91	21	71	24
6	70	24	76	23
7	83	22	64	25
8	57	26	75	23
9	40	32	55	27
10	37	33	38	32
11	18	47	31	35
12	12	58	22	43
13	5	90	9	67
14	1	200	4	100
15	1	200	1	200
16	1	200	—	—
17	—	—	—	—
18	—	—	1	200
19	—	—	1	200
20	—	—	—	—
N'	623		628	

$f_{ij}$	A2	E	$f_i$
7	83	64	147
8	57	75	132
$f_j$	140	139	279

$f_{o-ij}$	A2	E
7	73,8	73,2
8	66,2	65,8

$$\chi^2 = 4,91 \geq \chi^2_{0,05; 1} = 3,84$$

$$N' = \sum_{k=1}^{20} f_k$$

$f_{ij}$	A2	E	$f_i$
2	60	50	110
3	72	67	139
4	73	62	135
5	91	71	162
$f_j$	296	250	546

$f_{o-ij}$	A2	E
2	59,6	50,4
3	75,4	63,6
4	73,2	61,8
5	87,8	74,2

$$\chi^2 = 0,58 < \chi^2_{0,05; 3} = 7,81$$

On the other hand in case of the 7 and 8 letter words there *exists* a significant relationship between the marker determined by the varying of the two texts and that determined by the varying of the word length as it has been shown by the  $\chi^2$ -test. Again as in case of the sentence length (cf. Table 1), the numbers are in favour of the shorter, i.e. 7 letter, words in case of Comenian A2 as compared with the supposedly non-Comenian E, where the longer words, i.e. the 8 letter ones, are more frequent (cf. Table 2).

In sum the stylometric statistics of the two subconscious stylistic features, namely the sentence and word length, support the decision arrived at by J. Nováková, which states that the authorship of E cannot be attributed to Comenius. The reliability of the stylometric argument is determined by the limits of the statistical theory, which it is based upon. Its advantage resides in its neutrality. In case someone might have quite different opinion about the aesthetic value of the style of the author of E, namely that it is a more quiet and appropriate style for a professional tract, the stylistic difference between the two supposedly different authors obtains clear quantitative evaluation, which is independent of the possible individual aesthetic bias.

One thing, however, should be firmly kept in mind. It is due to J. Nováková's pioneering research into the question of the authorship of E that a further research into the same question has been attempted. Her biased conclusions arrived at by the traditional methods of philology were essential.

### References

- DJAK (*Dílo Jana Amose Komenského*): Johannis Amos Comenii *Opera Omnia* Vol. 12. Ediderunt D. Čapková, M. Kyrlová, V. T. Miškovská-Kozáková, J. Nováková, I. Sommernitzová-Kultová, S. Sousedík, M. Steiner. Pragae, Academia, 1978.
- Brunk, H.D. 1975: *An Introduction to Mathematical Statistics*. Lexington, Mass.: Xerox College Publishing, 1975.
- Kemeny, J.G. et alii. 1959: *Finite Mathematical Structures*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice—Hall, Inc., 1959.
- Kenny, A. 1982: *The Computation of Style: An Introduction to Statistics for Students of Literature and Humanities*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1982.

The University of London  
Inst. of Classical Studies

Heinz HOFMANN

CORNELIUS VAN ARCKEL UND SEIN NEULATEINISCHER  
FREUNDESKREIS IM HOLLAND DES AUSGEHENDEN 17.  
UND BEGINNENDEN 18. JAHRHUNDERTS<sup>1</sup>

Cornelius van Arckel ist heute so gut wie unbekannt. Handbücher und Enzyklopädien bringen nur wenig über ihn und verschweigen ihn zumeist, keine größere Abhandlung, keine Monographie ist ihm gewidmet, kaum jemand hat sich mit seinen literarischen und wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten beschäftigt, selbst dort, wo sein Name genannt ist—meist in Verbindung mit anderen Zeitgenossen—, finden sich unvollständige und widersprüchliche Angaben: *tabula rasa* also, soweit man sieht<sup>2</sup>. Dennoch scheint es sich zu verlohnen, diesen Prediger-Gelehrten und typischen Vertreter einer großen niederländischen Tradition von Humanisten und Philologen, von neulateinischen Dichtern und protestantisch gesinnten Theologen, einen Nachzügler freilich, aber nicht einen zu spät Geborenen, einem unverdienten Vergessen zu entreißen und sich seinen Platz und seine Funktion zu vergegenwärtigen,

<sup>1</sup> Eine erste Fassung dieses Aufsatzes wurde auf dem IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Neolatini im August 1979 in Bologna vorgetragen. Für die Erlaubnis, die unpublizierten Texte zu veröffentlichen, danke ich den zuständigen Damen und Herren der UB Leiden und Amsterdam und des Gemeindearchivs Rotterdam, ebenso für ihre bereitwillige Unterstützung bei der Anfertigung von Kopien und Mikrofilmen. Für hilfreiche Hinweise auf historischem und niederlandistischem Gebiet bin ich meinen Groninger Kollegen Prof. Dr. E.H. Waterbolk und Dr. P.E.L. Verkuyl zu großem Dank verpflichtet. Ein Verzeichnis der abgekürzt zitierten Literatur folgt am Schluß.

<sup>2</sup> Die wichtigsten Informationsquellen zu CvA sind immer noch die biographischen Wörterbücher, Gelehrtenlexika etc.: Jöcher I 510; Paquot I 49 f.; Saxius II 52 f., VI 128 f.; Kok IV 1247; vdAa I 105; NNBW VI 49 f.; BWPGN I 225 f. Abstammung aus der Linie der Herren von Arkel (bei Gorinchem/Culemborg), die sich bis ins 10. Jh. zurückverfolgen lassen, behauptete der Sohn von CvA, Cornelius van Arckel Czn., in einem Brief an Kaspar Burman, den Sohn des berühmten Philologen Pieter Burman d.Ä., den dieser im "Voorbericht aan den Lezer" seiner *Utrechtsche Jaarboeken* II (Utrecht 1751) abdruckt. Eine erste Diskussion über CvA's Person und Werke wurde im 19. Jh. in der Zeitschrift *De Navorscher* (8, 1858, 262; 9, 1859, 17-19. 45. 79. 181; 10, 1860, 195. 371) in Gang gesetzt.

die er in der gelehrten Welt und der Gesellschaft der Niederlande in den Jahrzehnten um 1700 eingenommen hat. Das Vorläufige dieser Skizze mag durch den eben genannten Mangel an Vorarbeiten entschuldigt werden und eine erste Grundlage für weitere Beschäftigung mit seinen publizierten und unpublizierten Schriften bilden.

Cornelius van Arckel oder Kornelis van Arkel, wie er sich in der nicht-latinisierten Form seines Namens nannte und Briefe und Dokumente gelegentlich unterzeichnete, wurde am 3. Oktober 1670 als Sohn des Apothekers Johannes van Arckel und dessen Ehefrau Maria Engels in Amsterdam geboren, zog aber bereits sehr früh mit seinen Eltern nach Rotterdam, da sie aus dieser Stadt stammten, und besuchte dort die von Erasmus von Rotterdam gegründete Lateinschule, deren Rektor damals Johannes Sylvius war<sup>3</sup>. Bereits mit 15 Jahren zeigte er großes Geschick im Dichten lateinischer Verse und erhielt dafür als öffentliches Anerkennungsgeschenk von der Schulleitung eine Ausgabe der Schriften Senecas.

Im Alter von 18 Jahren ging er nach Amsterdam und setzte dort seine Ausbildung am Seminar der Remonstrantischen Bruderschaft fort: In Philologie und Philosophie hörte er bei dem bekannten, teilweise umstrittenen Professor Jean le Clerc (Johannes Clericus)<sup>4</sup>, in Theologie bei Philipp van Limborch<sup>5</sup>. Im September 1695 legte er nach siebenjährigem Studium<sup>6</sup> sein Examen ab und wurde Proponent der Remon-

<sup>3</sup> Biografisches Material über CvA bei Van der Lanen und im Archivmaterial des Rotterdamer Gemeindearchivs. Seine Mutter ist früh verstorben, und sein Vater heiratete in zweiter Ehe Anna Paets, die zwei Mädchen zur Welt brachte. Doch scheinen von väterlicher Seite noch andere Van Ar(c)kels in Rotterdam gewohnt zu haben, vgl. A. 8. Über die Liebesromanze von CvA mit der Rotterdamer Brauereibesitzerstochter Jacomijna van Rijckevorsel in den Jahren 1704/5 vgl. A. C. Kersbergen, "De historie van het goudvinkje in 'De Roos'", *Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje* 1936, 36-44 (nach Rotterdamer Archivmaterial); ausschlaggebend für die Ablehnung der Verbindung durch Jacomijnas Eltern waren der soziale und wirtschaftliche Status eines Predikanten, vgl. dazu Groenhuis 1970. Ein Schmähbrief gegen CvA vom 30.4.1720 ist verzeichnet bei Knuttel IV Nr. 16537. — Zur Erasmianischen Lateinschule in Rotterdam vgl. Kan 1884; Van der Blom 1978; allgemein Bot 1955; Fortgens 1958; Kuiper 1959. Zu Johannes Sylvius (van den Bosch), der als Nachfolger von Isaac Gruterus von 1681-1719 als Rektor fungierte, vgl. Kan 1884, 46 ff.; Hazewinkel III 385 ff.

<sup>4</sup> 1657-1735, vgl. vdAa II 135-141; NNBW IV 430-434; BWPGN II 83-104; Barnes 1938; Golden 1972; Bots 1981, 1-30.

<sup>5</sup> 1633-1712, vgl. vdAa IV 139 f.; NNBW IX 608-611; BWPGN VI 41-47; Barnouw 1963.

<sup>6</sup> Van der Lanen 16: "... een jaar vroeger zou dat al geschied zyn / ten ware om eenige reden dat verschoven diende te worden". Zum Remonstrantischen Seminar in Amsterdam (seit 1873 in Leiden) vgl. Tideman 1873; Tideman 1905, 3 ff.; Gedenkboek Amsterdam 487 ff.; Heering/Sirks 1934.

strantischen Bruderschaft. 1696 erhielt er seine erste Predikantenstelle in Brielle (westlich von Rotterdam unweit des südlichen Mündungsarms der Maas gelegen), wo er maßgebend am Neubau der Kirche mitgewirkt hatte und zwei Berufungen nach Alkmaar und nach Leiden ausschlug. 1701 verließ er dann doch Brielle und ging als Predikant nach Delft, wo er aber nur knapp zwei Jahre blieb; denn 1702 wurde durch den Tod des Predikanten Johannes Molinaeus eine der vier Predikantenstellen an der Remonstrantischen Kirche in Rotterdam frei, und Van Arckel nahm im März 1703 diese Stelle an und trat am 6. Mai desselben Jahres feierlich sein neues Amt in seiner Heimatstadt an, das er bis zu seinem Tode im Alter von fast 54 Jahren am 29. September 1724 innehatte. Seine Predikantenkollegen in Rotterdam waren u.a. Johannes Bremer († 1713), Petrus Bos († 1718), für den er die Leichenrede hielt, Adriaan van Cattenburgh († 1743) und Sebastiaan van der Lanen († 1726), dessen Leichenrede auf Van Arckel wichtige biographische Nachrichten überliefert<sup>7</sup>. Im Juli 1717 heiratete C. van Arckel Catharina Scheltinga, mit der er mehrere Kinder hatte, darunter einen Sohn Cornelius, der 1719 in Rotterdam geboren wurde, ebenfalls am Remonstrantischen Seminar in Amsterdam studierte, seine erste Predikantenstelle 1742 in Waddinxveen antrat und 1747 nach Rotterdam berufen wurde, wo er bis 1769 tätig war; er setzte sich in Waalwijk zur Ruhe und starb dort am 28. Februar 1783<sup>8</sup>.

Die Zeit, in der Cornelius van Arckel lebte, ist als das Goldene Zeitalter Hollands in Kunst, Literatur und Wissenschaft bekannt, das sich damals freilich bereits seinem Ende entgegenzuneigen begann. Im Zusammenhang mit den politischen Ereignissen—der Loslösung von Spanien und dem Streben nach politischer Eigenständigkeit, das zum bekannten Zusammenschluß der nördlichen Provinzen der Niederlande

<sup>7</sup> *Joannes Molinaeus*: vdAa V 289 f.; NNBW X 637; BLGPN I 185 f. *Joannes Bremer*: vdAa I 394 f.; NNBW IV 297; BWPGN I 608. *Petrus Bos*: Tideman 1905, 55; Cornelius van Arckel 1718. *Adriaan van Cattenburgh*: vdAa II 82 f.; NNBW IV 292; BWPGN II 30-32; Tideman 1905, 16 f. u.ö. *Sebastiaan van der Lanen*: vdAa IV 34 f.; BWPGN V 533; Tideman 1905, 55 u.ö.

<sup>8</sup> Die genannten Handbücher (s. A. 2) nennen nur den Sohn Cornelius Czn. (1719-1783); dagegen impliziert Van der Lanen 30 mindestens zwei Kinder: "Zal ik nu tragten aan te toonen / wat ... zyne lieve Kinders aan hunnen Vader / die met de teederste liefde hen omhelsde / en aan hun zyne vlyt en zorg besteedde ... verloren hebben?" Das Archivmaterial im Rotterdamer Gemeindearchiv enthält notarielle Einträge über diverse Van Ar(c)kel, hinter denen sich teils Kinder, teils andere Verwandte verbergen. Die Identifizierung der einzelnen Personen muß einer genauen historisch-familienkundlichen Untersuchung vorbehalten bleiben.

in der Union von Utrecht am 23. Januar 1579 führte—kam der Gründung der Universität Leiden 1575 zentrale Bedeutung zu, die zu einem Zentrum europäischer Gelehrsamkeit im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert wurde. Bereits 10 Jahre später—1585—erhielt das friesische Franeker eine Universität, die allerdings 1811 wieder geschlossen wurde. 1614 wurde die Universität in Groningen gegründet, 1636 die von Utrecht und 1647 eine Universität in Harderwijk, die jedoch 1812 schließen mußte. Dagegen hat sich die Amsterdamer Universität erst im 19. Jahrhundert aus den Vorstufen des 1632 gegründeten Athenaeum Illustre entwickelt<sup>9</sup>. Freilich waren die großen Vertreter der Klassischen Studien im 17. Jahrhundert—Hugo Grotius (1583—1645), die beiden Vossii (Gerhard Johann 1577-1649, Isaac 1618-1689), die beiden Heinsii (Daniel 1580-1655, Nicolaus 1620-1681), der ältere Gronovius (Johann Friedrich 1611-1671)—bereits tot, als Van Arckel seine Ausbildung bei den Remonstranten in Amsterdam begann. Doch zählten auch damals noch in Holland immerhin Gelehrte zu seinen Zeitgenossen, deren Namen stets noch eine Vorstellung vom Range der Philologie in dieser Zeit wachrufen: Johann Georg Graevius (1632-1703), der jüngere Gronovius (Jacob 1645-1716), Jacob Perizonius (1651-1715), Pieter Burman d. Ä. (1668-1741), Ludolf Küster (1670-1716)—diese beiden fast gleichaltrig mit ihm—oder der etwas jüngere Tiberius Hemsterhuys (1685-1766), um nur die vielleicht bekanntesten zu nennen, darunter manche Deutsche, die einem Ruf an die neuen niederländischen Universitäten gefolgt waren<sup>10</sup>.

Es nimmt daher nicht wunder, daß im Gefolge einer so großen Tradition und angesichts eifriger Betätigung auf dem Felde der Klassischen Studien auch zahlreiche andere Gebildete sich wissenschaftlicher Tätigkeit zuwandten, ohne ein historisches oder philologisches Fach an einer Lateinschule, einem Athenaeum, einer Universität oder sonstigen Ausbildungsstätte zu lehren—abgesehen davon, daß auch von den vorhin genannten Repräsentanten niederländischer Philologie im

<sup>9</sup> Zu den Gründungen dieser Universitäten vgl. für *Leiden*: Jurriaanse 1965; *Leiden University* 1975; für *Franeker*: Boeles 1879/89; für *Groningen*: *Academia Groningana* 1914; für *Utrecht*: Kernkamp/Fockema Andreae 1936; für *Harderwijk*: Bouman 1844/7; de Haan 1960; allgemein: Schoengen 1911/25; Price 1974; Frijhoff 1981.

<sup>10</sup> Müller 1869; Sandys 1908, II, 300 ff. 441 ff.; Pfeiffer 1976, 124 ff. 162 f.; Schneppen 1970; Frijhoff 1981. Zu einzelnen Gelehrten: *Daniel Heinsius*: Ter Horst 1934; Meter 1975. *Isaac Vossius*: Ter Horst 1938. *Geerard Joannes Vossius*: Rademaker 1981. *Jacob Perizonius*: Meijer 1971. *Tiberius Hemsterhuis*: Gerretzen 1940. *J. F. Gronovius*: P. Dibon - F. Waquet, *Johannes Fredericus Gronovius* (Genf 1984).

17. und 18. Jahrhundert nicht alle jederzeit eine akademische Position innehatten, z.B. Nicolaus Heinsius, der jahrelang in diplomatischer Tätigkeit und im Dienste der Königin Christina von Schweden tätig war<sup>11</sup>. Neben den Theologen und Philologen waren es Männer mit den verschiedensten Berufen, welche die antiken Autoren nicht nur fleißig studierten, sondern auch selbst Editionen machten, Kommentare und Abhandlungen verfaßten und oft gleichzeitig versuchten, mit den von ihnen bevorzugten antiken Autoren—vor allem den großen Dichtern der augusteischen Zeit—durch eigene lateinische Gedichte in einen poetischen Wettstreit zu treten. Innerhalb dieses Horizonts professioneller Philologen und antikebegeisterter, den humanistischen Idealen verpflichteter Gebildeter verschiedener Stände kann auch Cornelius van Arckels philologische und literarische Tätigkeit lokalisiert werden.

Im folgenden wird zunächst eine Übersicht seiner im Druck erschienenen Veröffentlichungen gegeben, denen anschließend die nicht publizierten Arbeiten aus seinem Nachlaß hinzugefügt werden. Vollständigkeit ist dabei nur für die in lateinischer Sprache abgefaßten und die lateinische und neulateinische Literatur betreffenden Arbeiten beabsichtigt. Das ebenso interessante und für die Rekonstruktion seiner Biographie notwendige niederländische Material ist ebenfalls noch weit verstreut—vor allem in Gestalt von Briefen, Gedichten und Vorworten—, kann aber hier nur in einzelnen Fällen herangezogen werden. Eine gründliche Sammlung und Auswertung dieser zweiten Seite von Van Arckels literarischer Produktivität, die zudem seine *Theologica*, etwa Leichenpredigten, berücksichtigen müßte, fällt in erster Linie in nederländische Kompetenz.

1699 und 1700 erschienen bei Isaac van Ruynen in Rotterdam, von Van Arckel und Carolus Bernizius herausgegeben, zwei Sammelbände mit insgesamt 13 Abhandlungen von Gelehrten des 18. Jahrhunderts zu antiquarischen, theologischen und kirchengeschichtlichen Themen:

— *Syntagma primum dissertationum philologicarum. Recensitum, Emendatum, ac indice curatissimo auctum*, Rotterodami apud Isaacum van Ruynen, 1699.

Widmung: Viro clarissimo D. Johanni Texelio Liberalium Artium Magistro, Linguae Graecae in Rotterodamensi Athenaeo Professori,

<sup>11</sup> Blok 1949; *Christina Queen of Sweden* 204 ff. (Foreign Scholars at the Court).

Ecclesiae ibidem Praeconi Vigilantissimo, Ac linguae Sanctae peritissimo. Hoc Syntagma L. M. A. D. D. D. Carolus Bernizius, Cornelius van Arckel.

— *Syntagma secundum dissertationum philologicarum. Recensitum* etc., 1700.

Widmung : Viro clarissimo D. Petro Texelio, Ecclesiae Brielanae Pastori Vigilantissimo, Musarum ac nobilioris Litteraturae patrono, linguarum peritissimo, hoc Syntagma L. M. A. D. D. D. Carolus Bernizius, Cornelius van Arckel<sup>12</sup>.

Der Inhalt des ersten Bandes besteht aus folgenden Abhandlungen :

- I. CASP. SAGITTARII *Dissertatio de Natalitiis Martyrum*<sup>13</sup>
- II. JOHANNIS KINDLERI *Disputatio, ex Historia Ecclesiastica, de Natalitiis Christi*<sup>14</sup>
- III. ADAMI RECHENBERG *Dissertatio historica de veterum Christianorum ΔΟΞΟΛΟΓΙΑΙ*<sup>15</sup>
- IV. CASP. SAGITTARII *Dissertatio Philologica de Nudipedalibus Veterum*
- V. JOH. PHILIPPI PFEIFFER *Dissertationes Philologicae duae, de Cura Virginum apud Veteres*<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Zu Isaac van Ruynen vgl. Gruys/de Wolf 1980, 78. 150; *Rotterdam Bibliopolis* 1981, 37; er wird nicht genannt bei Lankhorst 1983. — Johannes Texel(ius), 1637-1726, war 1663-1668 Predikant bei der Nederduitschen Hervormden Gemeente in Kapelle a.d. IJssel, 1668-1721 in Rotterdam, seit 1680 Curator der Erasmianischen Lateinschule, seit 1687 Professor des Griechischen und Lateinischen, später der Theologie am dortigen Athenaeum Illustre. Sein Sohn Peter war Predikant in Brielle, CvA's erstem Tätigkeitsort; vgl. Hazewinkel III 393; NNBW V 903. — Das *Syntagma* wird öfters zitiert bei Fabricius 1760 (z.B. S. 383, 482 f., 917 u.ö.).

<sup>13</sup> Caspar Sagittarius (Schütze) 1643-1694, stammte aus Lüneburg, wurde 1668 Rektor der lateinischen Schule in Saalfeld, 1674 Professor der Geschichte in Jena; vgl. Pökel 235; Jöcher IV 24-28; ADB XXX 171.

<sup>14</sup> Johannes Kindler, lutherischer Geistlicher im 17. Jh.; das genannte Werk erschien in Wittenberg 1684 im Druck; vgl. Jöcher/Adelung III 35; Fabricius 1760, 463. 482. 917.

<sup>15</sup> Adam Rechenberg, 1642-1721, stammte aus Leipsdorf bei Augustusburg in Sachsen und war seit 1677 Professor in Leipzig; vgl. Pökel 220; Jöcher III 1948-50; Jöcher/Adelung VI 1508-1513; ADB XXVII 756 f.

<sup>16</sup> Johann Philipp Pfeiffer, 1645-1695, stammte aus Nürnberg und lebte seit 1665 in Königsberg; dort seit 1671 Professor und seit 1685 Hofprediger; trat 1694 zum Katholizismus über und wurde 1695 Kanonikus in Gutstadt; vgl. Jöcher III 1493 f.; Jöcher/Adelung VI 6-8; Pökel 207; ADB XXV 639-641.



Der Inhalt des zweiten Bandes besteht aus folgenden Abhandlungen :

- VI. M. G. WONNAE *Exercitatio de Geniorum* ONOMATOΛΟΓΙΑΙ<sup>17</sup>
- VII. M. G. WONNAE *De Geniorum natura*
- VIII. M. G. WONNAE *De Geniis Deorum & Hominum*
- IX. MOLLENBECIUS, *De Genio Principis*<sup>18</sup>
- X. ESCHENBACHIUS, *De consecratis Gentilium Lucis*<sup>19</sup>
- XI. ESCHENBACHIUS, *De Scribis Veterum Romanorum*
- XII. ESCHENBACHIUS, *Praecipuae Veterum Criticorum* ΣΗΜΕΙΩΣΕΙΣ
- XIII. R. VERWEY *De Uctionibus Gentilium*<sup>20</sup>

Beide Bände erschienen mit demselben Inhalt und von denselben Herausgebern nochmals 1710 in zweiter Auflage in Rotterdam bei demselben Drucker unter dem leicht geänderten Titel *Fasciculus dissertationum philologicarum*.

1708 gab Van Arckel bei Johannes Hofhout in Rotterdam eine neue Edition der *Animadversorum libri VI* des Arztes und Humanisten

<sup>17</sup> Georg Wonna, 1637-1708, stammte aus Ortenburg in Bayern und war seit 1664 Prediger und Professor am Gymnasium Poeticum in Regensburg, seit 1685 Superintendent; vgl. Jöcher IV 2067; Zedler LVIII 1512.

<sup>18</sup> Bernhard Ludwig Mollenbeck, 1658-1720, stammte aus Lemgo und war seit 1683 Professor der Ethik (dazu ab 1690 der Politik) am Gymnasium zu Lemgo, seit 1693 Professor der Rechte in Gießen; vgl. Jöcher III 601; Jöcher/Adelung IV 1941-1944; ADB XXV 118 f.

<sup>19</sup> Andreas Christian Eschenbach, 1663-1722, stammte aus Nürnberg und war dort seit 1695 Diakon an der Marienkirche und Professor am Auditorium Aegidianum; vgl. Jöcher II 395 f.; Pökel 73; ADB VI 337 f.

<sup>20</sup> Rainier Verwey stammte aus Woerden in der Provinz Zuid-Holland und war von 1686-1688 an der Universität Jena eingeschrieben, wo er 1688 eine *Dissertatio publica* "*Providam Dei circa peccata hominum curam ... pie ostendit auctor*" drucken ließ; 1687 veröffentlichte er die bei Van Arckel abgedruckte *Dissertatio De unctionibus gentilium*, die allerdings bei Fabricius 1760, 1029 und Zedler XLVIII 186 fälschlich dem aus Delft stammenden und später als Rektor in Gouda tätigen Johann Verwey (1648-1692) zugeschrieben ist. Wie aus den in beiden Dissertationen abgedruckten Vorworten, Widmungen und einem Widmungsbrief von Andreas Christian Eschenbach an den Autor von *De unctionibus gentilium* zu entnehmen ist, war er Lutheraner und hatte sich in Jena immatrikuliert, ging aber dann wieder nach Holland zurück; ein Bruder von ihm, Theodor Verwey, war Kaufmann in Amsterdam, der lutheranische Pastor Johannes Baers in Utrecht war sein Onkel (vgl. NNBW IX 40; J. Loosjes, *Naamlijst van Predikanten enz. der Luther. Kerk in Nederland*, 's-Gravenhage 1925, IX 129 f. In den biographischen Nachschlagewerken wie Jöcher, Jöcher/Adelung, Pökel, ADB, vdAa, NNBW, BWPGN etc. wird Rainier Verwey nicht genannt; vgl. *Die Matrikel der Universität Jena*. Band II: 1652 bis 1723, bearb. von R. Jauerling†, weitergeführt von M. Steiger, Weimar 1967, 851, wo er als "Vorwey Rognorus (sic) Woerda Batav., 3 April 1686" aufgeführt ist.

Hadrianus Junius (Adriaan de Jonghe, 1511-1575) aus Hoorn in Nord-Holland heraus, die zum ersten Mal 1556 in Basel erschienen waren. Zusammen damit edierte Van Arckel auch zwei andere Werke des Hadrianus Junius: dessen *Commentarius de Coma* (zuerst Basel 1556) und die *Appendix Hadriani Junii ad Animadversa sua, nunc primum ex clarissimi viri autographo in lucem edita, ex bibliotheca Corn. van Arckel, Roterodami*, wie das Titelblatt vermerkt<sup>21</sup>. Ein Exemplar der 1556 in Basel erschienenen Editio princeps der *Animadversa* mit zahlreichen handschriftlichen Verbesserungen und Zusätzen von Hadrianus Junius selbst hatte Van Arckel zehn Jahre früher, als er noch Predikant in Brielle war, von Cornelius van Alkemade (1654-1737), dem bekannten Erforscher der niederländischen Geschichte und Altertümer, erhalten; Reste eines umfangreichen Briefwechsels, den Cornelius van Arckel mit Cornelius van Alkemade führte und der sich auch auf persönliche Bereiche erstreckte, liegen noch unediert in der Universitätsbibliothek Amsterdam<sup>22</sup>. Das handschriftliche Manuskript von Hadrianus Junius, das die *Appendix* zu seinen *Animadversa* enthielt und das Van Arckel gleichfalls 1708 zusammen mit den anderen Juniana edierte, hatte er aus dem Nachlaß des Theologen und Predikanten David Flud van Giffen (1653-1701), eines berühmten Gelehrten und Handschriftensammlers der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, erworben, als dessen Bibliothek nach seinem Tod 1705 in Den Haag versteigert wurde<sup>23</sup>. Daneben scheint Van Arckel auch mit Van Giffen selbst Kontakte unterhalten zu haben oder zumindest mit ihm via Cornelius van Alkemade bekannt gewesen zu sein, da in den publizierten Briefen

<sup>21</sup> Zu Hadrianus Junius vgl. vdAa IV 73-75; NNBW VII 692-694; IJsewijn 1977, 110. 251.

<sup>22</sup> Zu Cornelis van Alkemade vgl. vdAa I 55 f.; NNBW VI 30 f. Der Briefwechsel mit CvA: *Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam. Catalogus der Handschriften, I: Schenking Diderichs. Nederlandsche Afdeeling*. Bewerkt door den conservator J. Hellendorn, Amsterdam 1899, 7. Signatur: Hs 1 Bn no. 1-9. Es handelt sich um 9 Briefe von CvA an Cornelis van Alkemade aus der Zeit zwischen Dezember 1696 und November 1699.

<sup>23</sup> Siehe dazu CvA in der Einleitung zur *Appendix* l.c. 383 f. und Th. J. I. Arnold, *Een autografen-verzamelaar der 17<sup>e</sup> eeuw: David Flud van Giffen*, Bibliograph. Adversaria I, 's-Gravenhage 1873/4, 11 ff.; II, 1874/5, 31 ff., wo eine größere Anzahl Briefe von David Flud van Giffen an Cornelis van Alkemade veröffentlicht ist. Zur Auktion: F. L. Hoffmann, "Notice relative à une collection de manuscrits possédée dans la seconde moitié du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle et les premières années du 18<sup>e</sup> à Dordrecht par David Flud van Giffen et vendue à La Haye en 1705", *Bull. du bibliophile belge* 16 (2<sup>e</sup> série 7), (1860), 279-292. Zu Van Giffen: vdAa III 55 f.; NNBW IV 655 f.; BWPGN III 246-249.

von Van Giffen an Van Alkemade mehrmals auch Van Arckel genannt ist<sup>24</sup>.

Der Ausgabe der *Animadversa* durch Van Arckel sind folgende Texte vorangestellt:

1. Eine Widmungsrede des Herausgebers an Cornelius van Alkemade
2. Eine Vorrede des Herausgebers an den Leser
3. Vier Gedichte an Cornelius van Arckel anlässlich dieser Edition:
  - a) 7 elegische Distichen von Janus Broukhusius (Johan van Broekhuizen)
  - b) 29 elegische Distichen von Franciscus Hesselius (Frans Hessel)
  - c) 9 elegische Distichen von David Hoogstratanus (David van Hoogstraten)
  - d) 4 Distichen, bestehend aus 2 sogenannten Zweiten Archilochischen Strophen, d.h. je einem daktylischen Hexameter, gefolgt von einem Hemiepes (nach dem Muster bei Hor. c. IV 7), von I. Bremerus (Johannes Bremer)

Diese Widmungsgedichte führen direkt in den Freundeskreis hinein, der sich Ende des 17. und Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts in Holland gebildet hatte und der durch die vorhin genannten gemeinsamen Interessen an der antiken Literatur und ihrer Pflege und Erneuerung in Wissenschaft und Dichtung einen festen Zusammenhalt fand. Einige seiner Mitglieder hatten sich hier zusammengefunden, um diese neue Edition eines der Ihren poetisch zu begrüßen und sowohl dem Autor Hadrianus Junius als insbesondere dem Herausgeber Cornelius van Arckel ihre Reverenz zu erweisen. Alle diese Männer sind—bis auf Johannes Bremer, einen Predikantenkollegen Van Arckels aus Rotterdam<sup>25</sup>—als neulateinische Dichter auch sonst bekannt und sind überdies als Editoren antiker und neulateinischer Dichtung hervorgetreten: So ist Janus Broukhusius (1649-1707)<sup>26</sup> durch Ausgaben von Properz (Amsterdam 1707, 2. Auflage besorgt durch Pieter Vlaming 1727)<sup>27</sup> und Tibull (Amsterdam 1708) sowie der lateinischen Werke von Jacopo Sannazaro (Amsterdam 1689, 2. Auflage ebenfalls besorgt durch Pieter Vlaming 1728) und Aonius Palearius (Amsterdam 1696) als Philologe

<sup>24</sup> Arnold l.c. I, 83 f. 243; II, 167. 170.

<sup>25</sup> Siehe oben A. 7.

<sup>26</sup> vdAa I 421-423; NNBW IV 309-312.

<sup>27</sup> vdAa VII 84; NNBW III 1317 f.; Cox-Andrau 1976.

bekannt geworden. Franciscus Hesselius (1680-1746)<sup>28</sup> edierte die Fragmente von Ennius (Amsterdam 1707) und veranstaltete eine kommentierte Ausgabe des spätantiken geographischen Handbuchs von Vibius Sequester *De fluminibus fontibus lacubus nemoribus paludibus montibus gentibus per litteras* (Rotterdam 1711); außerdem edierte er die von M. Gudius (Marquard Gude, 1635-1689) gesammelten griechischen und lateinischen Inschriften (*Antiquae Inscriptiones*, Leeuwarden 1731), allerdings in einer mit wenig Sorgfalt zusammengestellten Ausgabe. David van Hoogstraten (1658-1724), der auch als niederländischer Dichter und Übersetzer bekannt ist,<sup>29</sup> ist der philologisch Produktivste in dieser Gruppe gewesen: Er edierte Cornelius Nepos (Amsterdam 1706), Terenz (Amsterdam 1699, 2. Auflage London 1702, 3. Auflage Amsterdam 1718) und die Fabeln des Phaedrus (Amsterdam 1699 u.ö.) und schrieb Kommentare und Erklärungen zu einer Reihe lateinischer Dichter (u.a. Catull, Properz, Vergil, Horaz, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Martial) und Prosaautoren (u.a. Cicero, Sueton, Valerius Maximus) und zum griechischen Dichter Aristophanes; ferner edierte er u.a. die lateinischen und niederländischen Gedichte von Janus Broukhusius (Amsterdam 1711 bzw. 1712) und gab seine eigenen lateinischen Gedichte in mehreren Auflagen heraus (Amsterdam 1682, 1697, 1700, Rotterdam 1710), bis sie in der Sammlung *Poematum libri XI, Editio altera priori multo auctior* nach seinem Tode von Pieter Vlamming zusammengetragen wurden (Amsterdam 1728).

Als Beispiel für diese poetische Produktion unter Freunden soll hier das erste dieser Widmungsgedichte abgedruckt werden, das Broukhusius zum Verfasser hat und auch in dessen Ausgabe der *Poemata*, die David van Hoogstraten 1711 in Amsterdam besorgt hatte, abgedruckt ist:<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> vdAa III 220 f.; Hazewinkel III 393 f.

<sup>29</sup> vdAa III 359-361; NNBW VIII 831-833; Nolen 1886; Kossmann 1915, 31 ff.; Cox-Andrau 1976 (Index).

<sup>30</sup> Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, Hs 290 b: Autograph (vgl. Nieuwenhuis 1970, Nr. 290 b), Papier, ca. 16,5 × 21 cm, zweimal gefaltet, leicht stockfleckig, Verso leer; Wasserzeichen: Krone mit Kreuz, flankiert von zwei aufrecht stehenden Löwen (in der Mitte durchgetrennt, daher nur untere Hälfte erhalten); dasselbe Wasserzeichen vollständig in Hs 290 a (vgl. Nieuwenhuis 1970, Nr. 290 a): *Lijkgezag op Kornelis van Arkel ... door Anna Brandt 1724*. Die zwei Autographa kamen aus dem Nachlaß von Mr. Abraham van der Hoeven 1954 ins Rotterdamer Gemeentearchiv. Druckorte von Van Broekhuizens Gedicht: 1) *Hadriani Hornani Medici Animadversa ejusdemque De Coma Commentarium ... ex bibliotheca Corn. van Arckel, Roterodami 1708* (im unpaginierten Vorspann); 2) *Jani Broukhusii Poematum libri sedecim* ed. Davide Hoogstratano, Amstelaedami 1711, p. 252 (*Epigrammatum liber II*, no. 32).

{ Viro Reverendo et Clarissimo  
 Cornelio Arkelio,  
 Hadriani Junii Animadversa  
 et Commentarium de Coma  
 cum luculentis accessionibus  
 recentanti

- Arkeli, Latiae non inficiande Minervae,  
 Nec minus Actaeo pectora plene favo;  
 O bene, quod luci magni meletemata Juni  
 Restituis, cultu divitiora novo!  
 5 Istos (nec fallor) mirabitur ipsa libellos  
 Roma vetus, linguae dote superba suae.  
 Nec Batavas quisquam temere deriserit aures,  
 Hornanae si quem gustum habeat veneris.  
 Talia Varronis fuerunt et talia Verri  
 10 Scripta, nec a longo tota peresa die.  
 Macte operae, Arkeli, jucundi macte laboris:  
 Te vocat in Clarium Fama benigna nemus.  
 Et tibi, qua Valacram Tethys circumsonat urbem,  
 E tumulto plaudit Junius ipse suo.

Janus Broukhusius

Das Gedicht unterscheidet sich nicht grundsätzlich von vielen anderen Widmungsgedichten im Vorspann von Ausgaben der damaligen Zeit, von denen Lucian Müller<sup>31</sup> mit der ihm eigenen Schärfe sagt: "Und wer zählt noch alle gelegentlichen Ergüsse dieser Art auf fliegenden Blättern, wer die oft sehr umfangreichen Gedichte, die nach dem Geiste des siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts zur Widmung und Empfehlung jeglicher Art gelehrter Werke in den ältesten Drucken Niederlands latitiren?" Dennoch scheint gerade dieses Gedicht in seiner überschwenglichen Art des Lobes sowohl für den großen Hadrianus Junius als auch für seinen jüngsten Herausgeber typisch zu sein für den Ton und Geist, in dem die Mitglieder dieses Freundeskreises verkehrten und sich gegenseitig für die antike und neuere Literatur und Gelehrsamkeit begeisterten. Überdies ist Broukhusius nicht gerade der schlechteste Vertreter der neulateinischen Poesie in den Niederlanden; denn auch der eben zitierte Lucian Müller stellte resigniert fest, daß "die Namen eines Grotius, Baudius, der Heinsius, des Broukhuyzen, Relandus u.ä. in dem weiten Sumpf der Mittelmäßigkeit, die sich, wenn je, in der modernen lateinischen Poesie breit gemacht

<sup>31</sup> Müller 1869, 176.

hat",<sup>32</sup> verschwinden. Broekhuizens Vorliebe für gesuchte Formulierungen und *callidae iuncturae* ist auch in diesem Gedicht allenthalben anzutreffen: von dem nur bei dem Dichter Cn. Matius aus dem frühen 1. Jh. v. Chr. belegten Deponens *recentari* (fr. 9 FPL ed. Morel = Gell. XV 25,1) in der Überschrift, von der Anrede *Latiae non inficiande Minervae* in Z. 1, die Martials *Varro Sophocleo non infitiande cothurno* (V 30,1, cf. IX 99,3 *Marcus Palladiae non infitianda Tolosae/gloria*) nachgebildet ist, über *Actaeus favus* in Z. 2, das weder in dieser Junktur noch in dieser metaphorischen Verwendung in der klassischen Literatur belegt ist,<sup>33</sup> und über die seine spezielle Gelehrsamkeit verratende Nennung des Grammatikers Verrius Flaccus, dessen Werk *De verborum significatione* nur im Auszug des Festus und—via Festus—des Paulus Diaconus erhalten ist, in Z. 9 bis hin zu der originellen Vorstellung am Schluß des Gedichts, daß sogar Hadrianus Junius selbst dem Editor Beifall spende aus seinem Grab heraus in der von Thetis umrauschten *Valacra urbs*<sup>34</sup>. Zudem ist *Valacra urbs* eine alexandrinisch anmutende Periphrase der Stadt Middelburg auf der damals noch nicht mit dem Festland verbundenen Insel Walcheren, wohin der Leichnam von Hadrianus Junius 1579, vier Jahre nach seinem Tod in Arnemuiden, überführt und in der Chorkirche beigesetzt wurde. Singular ist schließlich auch die Verbindung *Clarium nemus* in Z. 12, die in ähnlicher Form nur noch bei Vibius Sequester (p. 153,26 Riese) mit dessen Edition und Kommentierung ein anderes Mitglied des Kreises, Franciscus Hesselius, beschäftigt war, vorkommt. Die letzten beiden Zeilen sollten übrigens mit tragischer Ironie sich beim Verfasser des Gedichts selbst bewahrheiten: Broukhusius verstarb am 15. Dezember 1707 und erlebte das Erscheinen von Van Arckels Hadrianus-Junius-Edition nicht mehr.

Schließlich hat Van Arckel im Jahre 1722 noch eine Edition des neulateinischen Lehrgedichts *Zodiacus Vitae* herausgegeben, das unter dem Namen von Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus überliefert und publiziert ist: MARCELLI PALINGENII Stellati Poetae *ZODIACUS*

<sup>32</sup> Müller 1869, 176.

<sup>33</sup> Belegt sind die Kombinationen *Hyblaeis favis* Stat., *Silv.* II 1, 48, *Cecropios favos* Mart. XIII 105,2, *Theseis favis* Mart. IV 13,4 (nach ThLL VI 1, fasc. 2, 391 f.). *Imbres Actaeos* im Sinne von *mel Atticum* findet sich bei Stat., *Theb.* IV 453; Colum. X 386 gebraucht *Actaei mellis*.

<sup>34</sup> Nachgebildet der Ovidstelle aus *Met.* I 187 *qua totum Nereus circumsonat orbem. Circumsonare* vom Meer sonst nur noch bei Avien., *Orb. terr.* 830 f., Paul. Nol., *Carm.* XIV 57 und Hieron., *Epist.* III 4, 2.

*VITAE, id est de Hominis Vita, Studio ac Moribus optime instituendis LIBRI XII. Nunc demum ad exemplaria primaria sedulo castigati, centenis aliquot mendis expurgati, aliisque accessionibus aucti.* Rotterodami, APUD JOANNEM HOFHOUT, Anno 1722<sup>35</sup>.

Damit ist alles, was an neulateinischen Editionen von Cornelius van Arckel im Druck erschienen ist, aufgezählt. Noch nicht erfaßt ist hierbei eine Reihe von Gelegenheitsgedichten in lateinischer (und niederländischer) Sprache, die zu bestimmten Anlässen wie Hochzeiten, Geburtstagen, Todesfällen etc. geschrieben und in den Werken anderer Autoren oder in Sammelausgaben und Anthologien erschienen sind. Da eine vollständige Sammlung noch gar nicht in Angriff genommen ist und es daher auch an einer einigermaßen zuverlässigen Übersicht über Van Arckels neulateinische Gelegenheitsdichtung gebricht, sollen im folgenden einige der bisher aufgefundenen Texte—sämtliche nur handschriftlich überliefert—vorgestellt werden<sup>36</sup>.

\*  
\* \* \*

Zunächst ein Geburtstagsgedicht in 46 Phalaeceen zum 28. Geburtstag von Franciscus Hesselius am 30. Januar 1708:

{ Viri Clarissimi  
FRANCISCI HESSELI  
Vicesimus octavus Natalis

<sup>35</sup> Das Titelblatt nennt nirgends den Namen von CvA, auch fehlt der sonst übliche Kranz von Widmungsgedichten auf den Editor; allerdings wird in der gelehrten Tradition seit Paquot 1765 diese Ausgabe unserem CvA zugeschrieben. Zu Palingenius Stellatus vgl. zuletzt Roellenbleck 1975, 189 ff. (dort auch über die Frage der Identität des Verfassers).

<sup>36</sup> Eine Sammlung dieser verstreuten Gedichte dürfte daher noch geraume Zeit in Anspruch nehmen, ebenso eine Sichtung des handschriftlichen Nachlasses, der über verschiedene Bibliotheken und Archive der Niederlande verteilt und oft gar nicht unter CvA's Namen registriert ist. So erschienen z.B. drei lateinische Hochzeitsgedichte anlässlich der zweiten und dritten Eheschließung von Kaspar Brandt (1653-1696), des ältesten Sohnes von Geeraerd Brandt, mit Leonora Tongerloo 1686 und Agatha Taats 1691 zusammen mit entsprechenden Gedichten von J. Vollenhove, J. Oudaan, Petrus Bos, Joannes Brandt und F. de Haes (für die zweite Eheschließung) sowie von P. Francius, Petrus Bos und Cornelis van Alkemade (für die dritte Eheschließung) im Druck; vgl. Bouman 1982, 118 Nr. 525 und 124 Nr. 533. Ein lateinisches Grabgedicht auf den Tod des Rotterdamer Buchhändlers und -druckers Rainier Leers († 1714) ist zusammen mit zwei anderen Gedichten von David van Hoogstraten und J. Suderman im Rotterdamer Gemeindearchiv erhalten; vgl. Lankhorst 1983, 131 f. mit A. 17. Nachrichten über andere Gelegenheitsgedichte dieser Art bei vdAa, NNBW, BWPGN.

- Salve festa dies, dies venusta,  
 Prodi laetior, o dies serena,  
 Redde, pulcra dies, bono omine horam,  
 Qua sodalitii corona nostri,  
 5 Cor Hesselius atque cura divûm,  
 devotum caput artibus politis  
 Hausit aetherias tenellus auras.  
 Cursu nunc flue libero, Hippocrene,  
 Nunc seda cupidam sitim bibenti,  
 10 ut laetis numeris modisque charum  
 Natalem officiosius celebrem.  
 Prodite, Aonides Deae, comisque  
 vestris demite signa maesta luctus :  
 Sat datum lacrimis piis, sorores :  
 15 Satis BROUKHUSIUMque BRANTIUMque,  
 Illa lumina rapta litterarum,  
 Placastis querimoniis disertis.  
 Prodite, et facilem sereniores  
 Indutae faciem : cupressus atra  
 20 Commutanda hederis brevisque myrto.  
 Vobis HESSELIUS canendus : ille  
 Jam dudum celebrare nam solebat  
 vestro mystica sacra rite templo,  
 Vos in vota vocans ciensque ab antro.  
 25 Ille carmina dulciora melle  
 Fundit, ille modos Propertianos  
 Exactos criticum modos ad unguem,  
 Queis nil tersius, ille liberales  
 Ad Mosae vada pura sistit artes.  
 30 HESSELI, quoties ab ore pendens  
 argutos avida imbibebat auris  
 Cantus! ah quoties tibi favebam  
 Miscenti modo seriis jocosa  
 Per gratas animi remissiones!  
 35 Sic perge, o mea cura corculumque :  
 Sic serus nemora ac vireta amoena  
 Camposque Elysios petas colasque.  
 Sic amicitiae diu inchoatae  
 Musarum auspicio atque gratiarum  
 40 Foedus perpetuos perennet annos.  
  
 Redi festa dies, dies venusta :  
 Redi laetior et sereniore  
 vultu redde, dies, bono omine horam,  
 qua sodalitii corona nostri



45 Cor HESSELIUS atque cura divûm  
Hausit aetherias tenellus auras.

III Kalend. Febr.  
M.DCCVIII

Corn. van Arckel<sup>37</sup>

Der Text scheint eine Abschrift des offensichtlich an Hesselius geschickten Originals zu sein, die Van Arckel vermutlich für seine eigenen Unterlagen gemacht hat, da das Blatt mit dem Gedicht aus der Handschriftensammlung der Remonstrantischen Kirche stammt, in die ein Teil des Nachlasses von Cornelius van Arckel gelangt ist. Ob das an den Empfänger geschickte Exemplar noch vorhanden ist, konnte bisher nicht ermittelt werden, ebensowenig ließ sich eine Veröffentlichung in gedruckter Form nachweisen.

Die Einleitungsverse 1-5 und 7 beschließen in leicht veränderter Form als Verse 41-46 wieder das Gedicht; möglicherweise sollte Vers 6 am Schluß nach Vers 45 gleichfalls wiederholt werden, so daß eine versehentliche Auslassung durch den Schreiber selbst vorläge; auch Vers 28 wurde beim Abschreiben zunächst vergessen und nachträglich zwischen Vers 27 und 29 eingefügt.

In Vers 4 wird der gemeinsame Freundeskreis als *corona sodalitiî nostri* angesprochen, eine Vorstellung, hinter der sich Formen freundschaftlichen Umgangs in Rom abzeichnen, wie man sie—noch dazu unter Poeten—vor allem aus einigen Gedichten Catulls abzulesen meinte (z.B. 35,1; 46,9; 95; 96). Ein solcher Kreis literarisierender, kritisierender, sich die eigenen poetischen Produktionen zuschickender und in freundschaftlichem Geiste verbundener Dichter und Gelehrter, von *poetae docti* also, den man in die römische republikanische Gesellschaft des 1. Jh. v. Chr. hineinprojizierte, schwebte den Freunden um Cornelius van Arckel vor, und sie versuchten, sich als ebensolcher Kreis im Holland des ausgehenden 17. und beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts zu gerieren, vielleicht auch etwas zu stilisieren; jedenfalls war ihre Verbindung von echter Freundschaft getragen, die sie an den Schicksalen der anderen lebhaften und tief empfundenen Anteil nehmen ließ. Zwei Mitglieder dieser Corona hatte kurz vorher der Tod entrissen, wie aus V. 12 ff. hervorgeht: nämlich Johan van Broekhuizen

<sup>37</sup> Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam, Hs As 3: Autograph, Papierblatt 15,7 × 20 cm; auf dem Recto links oben in Rot die Signatur As 3, rechts oben in Rot RK (= Remonstrantsche Kerk). Recto: V. 1-20, Verso: V. 21-4; vgl. *Catalogus der Handschriften* VII, 1923, Nr. 423. Bisher unveröffentlicht.

am 15. Dezember 1707 und Johannes Brandt (6.7.1660-13.1.1708), den jüngsten Sohn des bekannten Geschichtsschreibers der niederländischen Reformation, Geeraerd Brandt (1626-1685), der als Verfasser historischer Werke, philologischer Abhandlungen, geistlicher Schriften und Predigten und als Editor, aber auch als Autor vermischter Gedichte bekannt wurde<sup>38</sup>.

Die in V. 21 ff. angesprochene dichterische Tätigkeit von Hesselius dürfte wohl etwas übertrieben geschildert sein, doch ist es dem Genos und dem Stil dieses Freundeskreises durchaus angemessen und auch in Übereinstimmung mit dem Verhältnis der Humanisten zu den antiken Autoren, wenn seine Elegien, die er unter dem Titel *Otia Hagiana* 1702 in Leiden publiziert hatte, als *carmina dulciora melle* gepriesen und denen des Properz gleichwertig an die Seite gestellt werden und von ihm gesagt wird, er verpflanze die *artes liberales* an die klaren Wasser der Maas. Abschließend wird in V. 38 ff. erneut der Bund der Freundschaft beschworen, der unter den Auspizien der Musen und Grazien die Jahre ununterbrochen fort dauern soll.

Dieser "Maasparnaß", wie er damals allgemein genannt wurde<sup>39</sup>, sah sich bald in eine heftige und polemische Auseinandersetzung verwickelt, die als "Poëtenoorlog" in die Literaturgeschichte einging<sup>40</sup>. Der Streit nahm zum Teil seinen Ausgang von der mit Anmerkungen versehenen Phaedrusausgabe David van Hoogstratens, die 1711 in Amsterdam erschienen war und von Jean le Clerc, dem Professor für Philologie und Philosophie am Remonstrantischen Seminar zu Amsterdam, in der von ihm herausgegebenen und größtenteils durch eigene Beiträge angefüllten *Bibliothèque Choisie* 23 (1711), 411 ff. scharf

<sup>38</sup> Zu Geeraerd Brandt und seinen Söhnen vgl. vdAa I 365-368; NNBW VI 182-188; BWPGN I 576-587; Tideman 1905 (Index); BLGNP II 92-96. Joannes Brandt (1660-1708) war zuletzt remonstrantischer Predikant in Amsterdam und hatte neben einigen theologischen Werken auch vermischte Gedichte (*Mengelgedichten*, Amsterdam 1701) veröffentlicht.

<sup>39</sup> Zu diesem Begriff vgl. Nolen 1886, 30; te Winkel V 100, der u.a. auf ein 1713 von Jacob Zeeus anonym veröffentlichtes Spottgedicht "Voor de nydige Poëten van den Maesparnas" verweist.

<sup>40</sup> Ausführlich zum Poëtenoorlog Nolen 1886; Kossmann 1915, 30 ff. (über die einzelnen Phasen des Streites, der sich allerdings, was die philologische Seite, besonders die Fehde zwischen P. Burman d.Ä. und Le Clerc, betrifft, schon wesentlich früher an der Person und den kritischen Anschauungen Le Clercs entzündet hatte, wie sie dieser in seiner *Ars critica* von 1697 und den *Parrhasiana* von 1703 niedergelegt hatte); Barnes 1938, 213 ff.; Knuvelde II, 515 ff.; Geerars 1954, 58 ff.; Golden 1972, 42 ff. 71 ff.; GLN VI 58 f. u.ö.; Cox-Andrau 1976, 97 ff. 328 ff. Über die einzelnen Dichter wie P. Vlaming, H. C. Poot und J. Zeeus vgl. GLN VI 93 ff.

kritisiert worden war. Bereits früher hatte Le Clerc in derselben Zeitschrift (15, 1709, 379 ff.) die Tibullausgabe von Van Hoogstratens (und auch Van Arckels) Freund Johan van Broekhuizen in einigen Punkten abfällig beurteilt und, im Zusammenhang damit, abschätzige Bemerkungen über Van Broekhuizens lateinische Gedichte gemacht. Einen neuen Angriff führte Le Clerc dann gegen Van Hoogstraten in einer Besprechung des von Van Hoogstraten herausgegebenen Buches *J. Oudaans Aanmerkingen over Q. Horatius Flaccus Dichtkunst, op onze tijden en zeden toegepast door A. Pels* (Amsterdam 1713), in dessen Vorwort ("Berecht") Van Hoogstraten die philologischen und poetisch-ästhetischen Anschauungen von Le Clerc und dessen selbstangemaßte Rolle eines literarischen Schiedsrichters heftiger Kritik unterzogen und ihm seine Kritik an Van Broekhuizens Tibullausgabe, an dessen lateinischen Gedichten und an seiner—Van Hoogstratens—eigener Phaedrusausgabe mit gleicher Münze zurückgezahlt hatte. Hieran entzündete sich dann der Poëtenoorlog, der dadurch eine mehr auf allgemeine poetologische und ästhetische Fragen gerichtete Wendung erhielt und in den auf seiten Van Hoogstratens noch eine Reihe anderer zeitgenössischer Dichter eingriff, unter ihnen Pieter Vlaming, Joan de Haes, Hubert Korneliszoon Poot und Jakob Zeeus, die teilweise selbst in Verbindung zu Cornelius van Arckel standen.

Daneben hatte dieser Poëtenoorlog auch noch eine zweite, mehr philologische Seite, die eher an fachwissenschaftliche Fragen gebunden war, bei denen Le Clerc Männer wie Jacobus Perizonius (1651-1715), Jacobus Gronovius (1645-1716), Pieter Burman d. Ä. (1668-1741) und Richard Bentley (1662-1742) zu Gegnern hatte. Denn so große Verdienste sich Le Clerc durch viele Editionen und gelehrte Abhandlungen erworben hatte, u.a. durch seine bis heute noch nicht ersetzte Gesamtausgabe der Werke des Erasmus von Rotterdam (10 Bände, Leiden 1703-1706), so sehr griff er an anderer Stelle daneben und leistete sich grobe Schnitzer, wie zum Beispiel mit seiner Ausgabe von *Menandri et Philemonis Reliquiae* (Amsterdam 1709), die sich durch eine katastrophale Ahnungslosigkeit in Sachen Metrik übel auszeichnete und durch Richard Bentley verdientermaßen scharf kritisiert wurde<sup>41</sup>. Le Clerc blieb seinerseits die Antwort nicht schuldig und ließ durch

<sup>41</sup> Unter Pseudonym veröffentlicht: *Phileleutheri Lipsiensis emendationes in Menandri et Philemonis reliquias ex nupera editione J. Clerici, ubi multa Grotii et aliorum, plurima vero Clerici errata castigantur, cum praefatione Petri Burmanni* (Trajecti ad Rhenum 1710).

seinen Anhänger und Mitstreiter Johannes Cornelius de Pauw<sup>42</sup> eine Gegenschrift verfassen, zu der er das Vorwort beigezeichnet hatte<sup>43</sup>.

Mit Pieter Burman d. Ä. aus Utrecht, an den Bentley sein Rezensionssпамphlet geschickt und der es mit einem eigenen Vorwort eiligst zum Drucke besorgt hatte, war es bereits früher zu einem heftigen Kreuzen der Klingen gekommen: 1703 hatte Le Clerc unter dem später noch öfters gebrauchten Pseudonym Theodorus Gorallus—einer griechisch-hebräischen Übersetzung seines Namens—die pseudo-ovidischen Elegien *Consolatio ad Liviam (Epicedion Drusi)* und die beiden *Elegiae in Maecenatem*, die er in Übernahme der Theorie von Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) an den sonst nur durch wenige Fragmentzeilen bekannten Epiker Albinovanus Pedo zuschrieb<sup>44</sup>, ediert. Burman hatte in den drei zwischen 1703 und 1711 erschienenen *Dialogi inter Spudaeum et Gorallum* diese Edition heftig angefallen und dadurch so sehr den Zorn Le Clercs auf sich gezogen, daß dieser an der 1709 veröffentlichten Petron-Ausgabe von P. Burman<sup>45</sup> kein gutes Haar ließ, zumal er in Burmans Praefatio im Hinblick auf die vorangegangenen Ereignisse nicht gut wegkam. Daraufhin griff Burman erneut zur Feder und ließ 1712 in Utrecht ein Pamphlet erscheinen unter dem Titel: *Le Gazettier Menteur où Msr. le Clerc convaincu de Mensonge et de Calomnie par Pierre Burman a Utrecht 1712*. In demselben Jahr 1712 kulminierten die Auseinandersetzungen auch hinsichtlich einer anderen Frage: Am 30. April war Philipp van Limborch, der Inhaber des theologischen Lehrstuhls am Remonstrantischen Seminar in Amsterdam, verstorben, wodurch seine Stelle erneut zur Besetzung anstand. Als mögliche Kandidaten wurden damals die Rotterdamer Predikanten Petrus Bos († 1718), Adriaan van Cattenburgh (1664-1743) und auch unser Cornelius van Arckel in Betracht gezogen; doch machte sich auch Le Clerc Hoffnungen auf diese Professorenstelle und versuchte, sich als geeigneten Kandidaten zu empfehlen. Dabei kam ihm zupap, daß gerade im Jahr zuvor eine Zusammenstellung seiner

<sup>42</sup> ca. 1680-1749, vgl. vdAa VI 43; Sandys 1908, II 442; Barnes 1938, 219.

<sup>43</sup> Ebenfalls unter Pseudonym erschienen: *Phylargyrius Cantabrigiensis, Emendationes in Menandri et Philemonis reliquias ex nupera editione J. Clerici, ubi quaedam Grotii et aliorum, plurima vero Phileleutheri Lipsiensis errata castigantur, cum praefatione J. Clerici* (Amstelodami 1711).

<sup>44</sup> C. Pedonis Albinovani Elegiae III, et Fragmenta, cum interpretatione et notis Jos. Scaligeri, Frid. Lindenbruchii, Nic. Heinsii, Theod. Goralli et aliorum (Amstelaedami 1703).

<sup>45</sup> Titi Petronii Arbitri Satyricon quae supersunt, cum integris doctorum virorum commentariis (Trajecti ad Rhenum 1709).

philologischen und literaturkritischen Arbeiten erschienen war, verfaßt von einem ungenannten Freund, wie der Titel vorgab, aber in Wirklichkeit wohl von Le Clerc selbst stammend<sup>46</sup>. Anfang 1712 war außerdem noch eine Edition des *Pervigilium Veneris* zusammen mit des Ausonius *Cupido cruci adfixus* erschienen<sup>47</sup>, die von ihrem erotisch angehauchten Inhalt her seinen theologischen Aspirationen weniger dienlich war. Zudem erschien er auch manchen unter den Remonstranten auf theologischem Gebiet nicht ganz zuverlässig und wurde heimlicher bis offener Sympathien für die Socinianer und Sabelianer beschuldigt, während er sich andererseits auch gegen den Vorwurf, ein reformierter Dogmatiker zu sein, zur Wehr setzen mußte. Er erhielt daher zwar die ehrenvolle Aufgabe, die Leichenrede für den verstorbenen Philipp van Limborch zu halten<sup>48</sup>, doch einigten sich die Gremien nach 3 1/2 Wochen Beratungszeit, am 26. Mai 1712 Adriaan van Cattenburgh, Van Arckels Rotterdamer Predikantenkollegen, als Van Limborchs Nachfolger zu berufen.

Ein interessantes Dokument, das in diese Auseinandersetzungen gehört, ist in der Handschriftenabteilung der Universitätsbibliothek Amsterdam aufbewahrt<sup>49</sup>. Es stammt ebenfalls, wie das vorige Dokument, aus der Handschriftensammlung der Remonstrantischen Kirche und ist ein Brief im Format 21 × 32 cm, der ohne Absenderangabe an Cornelius van Arckel in Rotterdam adressiert ist; am rechten Rand sind noch Spuren eines roten Wachssiegels zu erkennen. Im Hand-

<sup>46</sup> *Joannis Clerici ... Vita et Opera ad annum MDCCXI. Amici ejus Opusculum, philosophicis Clerici operibus subjiciendum, cum Graevii et Ezech. Spanhemii ad J. Clericum Epistolis nec non Clerici operum ad annum 1711 editorum catalogo* (Amstelodami 1711).

<sup>47</sup> *Pervigilium Veneris ex editione Petri Pithoei, cum et ejus et Justi Lipsii notis, itemque ex alio codice antiquo cum notis Salmasii et Petri Scriverii, accessit ad haec Andreae Rivini Commentarius. Ausonii Cupido cruci adfixus, cum notis Mariangeli Accursii, Eliae Vineti, P. Scriverii et Anonymi (= J. Clerici), accessere ad calcem Jos. Scaligeri et Casp. Barthii Animadversiones* (Hagae Comitum 1712).

<sup>48</sup> *Oratio funebris in obitum Rever. et Clarissimi Viri Philippi à Limborch, S. Theologiae apud Remonstrantes Professoris, defuncti die XXX Aprilis anno MDCCXII, habita a Joanne Clerico die VI Maji, quo sepultus est* (Amstelodami 1712).

<sup>49</sup> *Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam. Catalogus der Handschriften, VII: De Handschriften krachtens Bruikleencontract in de Universiteitsbibliotheek berustende. Eerste gedeelte: De Handschriften van de Remonstrantsche Kerk, beschreven door den conservator Dr. M. B. Mendes da Costa. De Handschriften van het Evangelisch-Luthersche Seminarium en van de Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente, beschreven door den conservator Dr. J. Berg, Amsterdam 1923, Nr. 466. Hs Ar 18: Autograph, Papierblatt ca. 21 × 32 cm, als Brief doppelt gefaltet. Auf dem Recto links oben in Rot die Signatur Ar 18, am rechten Rand bei V. 4-5 die Spuren eines roten Siegels.*

schriftenkatalog ist das Stück als Schimpfgedicht beschrieben, das Bezug nimmt auf die Ernennung eines Professors am Remonstrantischen Seminar zu Amsterdam im Jahre 1712, und die Schrift dem Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts zugewiesen. Offenbar hat man nicht bemerkt, daß der Verfasser dieses Gedichtes niemand anders als Pieter Burman d. Ä. ist und es auch in seinen *Poematum libri IV* im Druck erschien<sup>50</sup>. Es folgt hier zunächst der Text des Briefes :

Verso : Myn Heer

Myn Heer Cornelis  
van Arkel, redenaar  
des Evangelium, onder  
de Remonstranten  
tot  
Rotterdam

Recto : IN PERVIGILIUM VENERIS  
GORALLI CURA  
VULGATUM

Carmina nocturnae Veneri vigilata Gorallus  
Ediderat, spurcis carmina plena jocis.  
Agnoscit meritum foedae propola Bovillus  
Mercis, et ingeminat, terque quaterque, SOPHOS.  
5 Endius acclamat cariosa voce boanti,  
Fitque malae caussae tutor, ut esse solet :  
"Huic date, quas egit partes Limburgius, et sit  
Arminiae princeps ille paterque Scholae".  
Sed rabido coetus dum pars sincera patrono  
10 Restitit, in ventos clamor ineptus abit.  
Praeficiturque sacro Doctor sine crimine ludo,  
Qui nequit incestae pervigilare Deae.  
Gallulus ut calidis et stultis excidit ausis,  
Ad Venerem moerens talia verba dedit :  
15 "O dea, conjugii Lethaei sponsor et auspex,  
Qua duce signa puer virque senexque tuli :  
Cum mihi non liceat, turba prohibente profana,  
Mystica Christiadum reddere sacra iocum,

<sup>50</sup> *Petri Burmanni Poëmatum Libri quatuor. Nunc primum in lucem editi. Curante Petro Burmanno Juniore* (Amstelaedami, 1746), S. 368 f., mit der von der Handschrift abweichenden Überschrift: *In GORALLUM cum frustra in locum LIMBURGII Profess. Theolog. ambiisset.* — Auf dieselben Vorgänge nimmt ein ironisches Gedicht von David van Hoogstraten Bezug, das erstmals in der Pamphletsammlung *Duncaniana* 1713, I, gedruckt wurde; vgl. Nolen 1886, 26 f.

- 20 Nec divina manu temerare volumina foeda,  
 Numinis et vanos esse docere metus,  
 Praefice me turbae, quae vestro laeta sacello  
 Pervigilans iuvenes Cypria sacra docet.  
 Me Quartilla colat, me mystam Pannychis unum  
 Hellespontiaci numinis esse velit”.

imprimatur

- 2 carmina *post spurcis superscr. auct.*: carminibus (*ut vid.*) *post plena del. et*  
*jocis add. auct.*  
 3 Agnoscit] A *ex corr.*  
 5 Endius] n *ex corr.*: Eyndius *ed.*  
 7 Limborgius *ed.*  
 9 coetus *ed.*: coitus *in coeitus corr. auct.*  
 18 reddere *post Christiadam superscr. auct.*: facere (*ut. vid.*) *post jocum del. auct.*  
 19 Nec] N *corr. ex A ut vid.*  
 25 imprimatur *in arm. fine scr. Van Arckel*

Das Gedicht nimmt deutlich auf die beiden Ereignisse—Edition des *Pervigilium Veneris* und Le Clercs Aspirationen auf Van Limborchs Nachfolge—Bezug. Allerdings setzt es eine Situation voraus, in der die Entscheidung für Adriaan van Cattenburgh bereits gefallen war, so daß ein Entstehungsdatum bald nach Bekanntwerden der Entscheidung vom 26. Mai 1712 als gesichert gelten kann. Das Gedicht ist voll von Reminiszenzen vor allem aus Ovid, Martial und Petron, doch würde es zu weit führen, alles im einzelnen nachzuweisen, so daß ich nur auf wenig eingehen möchte:

Mit den ersten beiden Versen wird Le Clerc/Gorallus sogleich als in einer Umgebung zuhause gekennzeichnet, die ihn in üblem moralischem Licht sexueller Auslassungen zeigt und damit persönlicher Verdächtigung aussetzt. Solche Schläge unter die moralische Gürtellinie waren in dieser Zeit und in diesen Auseinandersetzungen nicht ungewöhnlich: Mußte doch auch Burman selbst jahrelang unter den Folgen eines Prozesses leiden, den ihm ein Dienstmädchen aus Den Haag angehängt hatte, da er sie angeblich verführt und defloriert habe, welche Angelegenheit ihrerseits Anlaß zu zahllosen anonymen Spott- und Schmähschriften gab, unter denen Burman schwer zu leiden hatte und gegen die sich zu verteidigen ihn erhebliche Mühe und Anstrengung kostete<sup>51</sup>. Dazu paßt, daß in V. 2 *carmina plena jocis* eine Nach-

<sup>51</sup> vdAa I 492; NNBW IV 355 f.; Knuttel III Nr. 15824-15833, 15986.

bildung von *Priap.* 49,2 *non nimium casti carmina plena ioci* ist und den Kontext für das Folgende markiert. V. 4 *ingeminat terque quaterque SOPHOS* hat sein Vorbild in dem ironischen Vers bei Martial III 46,8 *at tibi tergeminum mugiet ille sophos* und dem ebenfalls ironisch gemeinten *et clarum repeto terque quaterque sophos* in Claudians *De-precatio in Alethium quaestorem* (c.m. XXIII 18). Hinter den latinisierten Namen *Bovillus* und *Endius* verbergen sich notorische Anhänger von Le Clerc, die auch in anderen Schmähschriften des Poetenstreites figurieren: *Bovillus* bezeichnet den remonstrantischen Predikanten und Doktor der Medizin Gysbertus Ostens, der in den in niederländischer Sprache geschriebenen Texten als "osje" (Öchslein) apostrophiert ist<sup>52</sup>, während mit *Endius* der Jurist Abraham van den Enden gemeint ist, dessen Name in anderen Schmähschriften als *Finalis* oder—unter Anspielung auf seinen Weingenuß—*Vinalis* latinisiert wird<sup>53</sup>. Auf seine Tätigkeit als Advokat zielt auch die Abqualifizierung als *malae caussae tutor, ut esse solet* in V. 6, die Charakterisierung seiner krächzenden Advokatenstimme durch die in der antiken Literatur nicht belegte Verbindung *cariosa voce* in V. 5 und die Bezeichnung als *rabidus patronus* in V. 9. Mit *Arminia Schola* ist die Ausbildungsstätte der Remonstranten gemeint, die gelegentlich auch als Arminianer bezeichnet werden nach dem Leidener Theologieprofessor Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), dessen Streit mit seinem Leidener Kollegen Franciscus Gomarus (1563-1641) über die Prädestinationslehre schließlich zur Bildung der Remonstranten-Bruderschaft führte (Synode von Dordrecht 1618/9)<sup>54</sup>. Besonders hübsch und witzig sind die Ausdrücke *pars sincera* in V. 9, das an derselben Versstelle steht wie in Ov., *Met.* I 191 in der Jupiterrede der Götterversammlung, und *calidis et stultis excidit ausis* in V. 13, wofür die Grabschrift für Phaethon aus Ov., *Met.* II 328 Pate stand: *magnis tamen excidit ausis*. Das anschließende Gebet von Le Clerc/Gorallus an Venus, die Titelgöttin des *Pervigilium Veneris*, ist ein Meisterstück literarischer *imitatio* und subtiler Verleumdung. Inhaltlich beziehen sich V. 17 ff. auf die bei Le Clerc beargwöhnten häretischen

<sup>52</sup> Gysbertus Ostens wurde 1695 zusammen mit CvA als Proponent bei den Remonstranten zugelassen und trat 1696 seine erste Stelle in Hoorn an. 1708 wurde er nach Amsterdam berufen und starb dort am 24.6.1741; vgl. vdAa V 71; Tideman 1905, 238 u.ö.

<sup>53</sup> Über Abraham van den Ende(n) und Gysbertus Ostens im Poetenstreit vgl. Nolen 1886, 20 ff.; Kossmann 1915, 33 f.; te Winkel V 96; Cox-Andrau 1976, 98.

<sup>54</sup> Zu den historischen Vorgängen: AGN VI 332 ff.; Tideman 1871/2; Tideman Jzn. 1897. Zu Gomarus: Itterzon 1929; BLGNP II 220-225. Zu Arminius: Bangs 1971; BLGNP II 33-37.



Neigungen, die durch die Lukrezanklänge (besonders V. 20) auf seine den Remonstranten unklaren Beziehungen zu dem französischen Skeptiker Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) verweisen sollen<sup>55</sup>. Die Schlußverse zitieren dann deutlich die aus dem ersten Teil von Petrons *Satyricon* bekannte Priapuspriesterin Quartilla und ihre kleine Verwandte Pannychis<sup>56</sup>, mit deren Hilfe sich Gorallus, da ihm nach der Verweigerung des theologischen Lehrstuhls nichts mehr anderes übrig bleibt, in die Mysterien des Priapus einweihen lassen will, wo er—so suggeriert es das Gedicht—wegen seiner *Pervigilium Veneris*—Edition, zugleich ein neuer Encolpius, seinen Platz hat.

Mehrere Manuskripte und andere handschriftliche Stücke, die von Cornelius van Arckel stammen oder auf ihn Bezug nehmen, befinden sich noch unediert und teilweise noch ungesichtet in der Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam. Sie stammen aus der Handschriftensammlung der Remonstrantisch-Reformierten Gemeinde zu Rotterdam, wohin sie offensichtlich nach Van Arckels Tod am 29.9.1724 gekommen waren. Die Handschriftensammlung dieser Gemeinde befand sich zusammen mit ihrer Bibliothek in deren Kirchenräumen—zunächst am Visschersdijk, seit 1897 am Westersingel—und wurde 1955 in die Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam überführt<sup>57</sup>.

Zunächst sind hier teilweise Vorlesungsnachschriften zu erwähnen, die Van Arckel während seiner Studienzeit am Remonstrantischen Seminar in Amsterdam in zwei Kollegs von Philipp van Limborch über den Römerbrief und den Hebräerbrief angefertigt hatte, die jedoch für unseren Zusammenhang nicht von weiterer Bedeutung sind<sup>58</sup>. Dazu kommt eine Abschrift der *Theologia Christiana*, des theologischen Hauptwerkes von Philipp van Limborch, das zuerst 1686 in Amsterdam im Druck erschien, später aber noch mehrfach sowohl in lateinischer Sprache als auch in niederländischer Übersetzung aufgelegt wurde und das zum ersten Male eine vollständige remonstrantische Dogmatik

<sup>55</sup> Labrousse 1963/4; Thijssen-Schoute 1954, 433 ff.; Thijssen-Schoute 1967, 104 ff.; allgemein zum intellektuellen Klima: Hazard 1935.

<sup>56</sup> Petr., *Sat.* c. 16,3 und 19-25. Vgl. besonders 17,9 *ne nocturnas religiones iocum risumque faciat*; 21,7 *cum sciatis Priapi genio pervigilium debere*.

<sup>57</sup> Siehe Rogge 1869; vgl. auch Nieuwenhuis 1970. Ein Inventar des Archivs der Remonstrantisch-Reformierten Gemeinde, das inzwischen im Gemeindearchiv Rotterdam untergebracht ist, wurde 1972 von J. C. Okkema zusammengestellt (maschinenschriftlich, Rotterdam 1972).

<sup>58</sup> Rogge 1869, Nr. 449: "Excerpta ex eius (sc. Ph. van Limborch) Praelectionibus in Epist. ad Romanos et Epist. ad Hebraeos. CORN. VAN ARCKEL scripsit 1684.4<sup>o</sup>". Die Jahreszahl ist in 1694 zu verbessern, da CvA 1684 noch gar nicht in Amsterdam war.

bietet<sup>59</sup>. Schließlich ist noch ein Konvolut von Briefen in niederländischer Sprache erhalten, die aus dem Briefwechsel von Philipp van Limborch mit verschiedenen remonstrantischen Predikanten und Proponenten stammen; zumeist sind es Briefe von Van Limborch selbst, zum Teil aber auch an ihn, geschrieben von Paulus Verryn, Vincentius Klinkhamer, Johannes Lagendaal, Cornelius van Arckel—von ihm nur zwei kurze Stücke—und anderen, insgesamt 42 Briefe aus den Jahren 1702-1711, die vor allem innerkirchliche Verwaltungs- und Personalangelegenheiten betreffen<sup>60</sup>.

Von den Philologica von Cornelius van Arckel in der Rotterdamer Gemeindebibliothek sind dagegen vier Exzerptenstudien interessant, die als Vorarbeiten und Materialsammlungen für seine philologischen Arbeiten angesehen werden müssen:

Zum ersten sind zwei gebundene Manuskripte erhalten, betitelt: "Loci communes in usum Corn. van Arckel" mit rund 500 beschriebenen Seiten (zweispaltig unterteilt), denen das Schema eines Index Alphabeticus vorangestellt ist, der allerdings unausgeführt blieb<sup>61</sup>. Es handelt sich um Exzerpte und Stellenverweise vorwiegend aus der gelehrten humanistisch-philologischen Sekundärliteratur seit dem 16. Jahrhundert, in denen Material zu Personen, Realien und philosophischen und theologischen Begriffen zusammengestellt ist. Die alphabetisch angeordneten Stichworte beginnen mit *Avarus*, *Avaritia*, *Almagek*, *Allath*, *Adagia*, *Area* usw. und reichen bis *Zelotypia* und *Zelus*. Die Notizen umfassen historisches, sprachliches, philosophisches und

<sup>59</sup> Rogge 1869, Nr. 463: "Idem (= WETSTEIN, J. J., *Theologia Christiana*). Alterum exemplar. Scripsit CORN. VAN ARCKEL. 5 ptes. 4<sup>o</sup>". Doch ist diese Zuweisung an J. J. Wet(t)stein falsch, da dieser als Nachfolger von Le Clerc vor allem für den philosophischen und philologischen Unterricht zuständig war, während die Nachfolger von Ph. van Limborch auf dem theologischen Lehrstuhl Adriaan van Cattenburgh (1712-1737, † 1743) und Joannes Drieberge (1737-1747) waren. Wetstein hat nie eine *Theologia Christiana* veröffentlicht, auch war CvA längst tot, als Wetstein sein Amt 1733 antrat. Es kann sich also nur um die *Theologia Christiana* von Ph. van Limborch handeln. Zu Wetstein vgl. Lente 1902; vdAa VII 50 f.; NNBW X 1183 f.; Tideman 1905, 9. 24 f. Im übrigen hat bereits Lente 1902, 2 bemerkt, daß die Nr. 460-464 bei Rogge 1869 zu unrecht unter Wetsteins Namen stehen.

<sup>60</sup> Rogge 1869, Nr. 680: "(LIMBORCH, PHIL. VAN) Briefwisseling met verschillenden betr. het prediken van Remonstrantsche predikanten en proponenten voor de gemeenten der Doopsgezinden te Leeuwarden en te Harlingen. 1702-11. 42 stn. *Holl.*" Zu den einzelnen Predikanten siehe vdAa, NNBW, BWPGN und Tideman 1905 (Index).

<sup>61</sup> Rogge 1869, Nr. 455: "ARCKEL, CORN. VAN, Locorum communium liber concern. literaturam et antiquitates, inchoatus a. ° 1695, alphabet. ord. Eigenh. HS. 2 vol. 4.<sup>o</sup>".

theologisches Material und enthalten häufig Querverweise, z.B. bei *Aegrotus* auf *Morbi*, bei *Contemplatio* auf *Meditatio*, bei *Iustus* auf *Virtus* usw. Es ist ein Zettelkasten in Buchform, der von einer immensen Exzerpierungstätigkeit Van Arckels zeugt.

Dasselbe gilt von einem thematisch mehr beschränkten Exzerpt, das ebenfalls in Manuskriptform gebunden ist und rund 140 Seiten umfaßt. Es ist betitelt: "Index vocum ut et gestuum Animalium, Ordine Alphabetico dispositus ex Graecis et Latinis autoribus collectus, Studio Corneli van Arckel"<sup>62</sup>. Eine erste alphabetische Reihe geht von *Aper* bis *Vulpes* (17 Seiten), dann setzt eine neue Reihe ein mit *Accipiter*, in der die in der ersten Reihe genannten Tiere abermals vorkommen und die bis *Vultur* reicht. Vornehmlich aus antiken, aber auch aus neulateinischen Autoren werden Stellen gesammelt und kurz ausgeschrieben, in denen Bezeichnungen für die Stimmen und Laute sowie die Bewegungsformen und -arten der betreffenden Tiere genannt sind. Unter dem Lemma *Aper* z.B. zitiert Van Arckel: "Philom. 52. *FRENDET* agrestis aper"<sup>63</sup>; zum Lemma *Apes* zitiert er dasselbe Gedicht der *Anth. Lat.* 762,36 *BOMBILAT ore legens munera mellis apis*, dazu Aristot., *Hist. An.* IX 10, Plin., *Nat. hist.* XI 10 (mit der Bemerkung "t gedommel der bijen"), Verg., *Aen.* XII 589 f. (allerdings ohne Versangabe) und Stat., *Theb.* X 575 f. (mit der unrichtigen Versangabe 569), während ein weiteres Zitat aus Varro offensichtlich vorgesehen war, aber nicht eingetragen wurde. Ausführlich sind die Belegstellen bei *Bos* (mit einem Verweis auf das Lemma *Taurus*) und untergliedert nach den Kriterien *cornua*, *robur*, *forma* und *fetus*, ebenso bei *Canis*, wo die griechischen Zitate überwiegen, *Cervus* oder *Equus*, das sich über 10 Seiten erstreckt. Bei *Formica* notiert er lediglich "*BURRIRE* a sonitu nidis exeuntium in Apulej lib. VIII: mutavit Beroaldus", ohne jedoch die Stelle genau anzugeben (VIII 22, p. 194,17 Helm<sup>3</sup>) oder auszuschreiben oder auf die Problematik der Überlieferung einzugehen<sup>64</sup>. Beim Lemma *Lupus* zitiert er zunächst wieder *Philom.* 52 in der Form *ast Lupus ipse ULULAT*, während Bücheler-Riese *atque lupus ululat* drucken (wie die wichtigsten Handschriften), dann

<sup>62</sup> Rogge 1869, Nr. 45: "(ARCKEL, CORN. VAN) Index vocum ut et gestuum animalium, ex Graecis et Latinis autor. collectus, ord. alphabet. Eigenh. HS. 4°".

<sup>63</sup> Gemeint ist *Anth. Lat.* 762 Bücheler-Riese: *De volucris et iumentis. De filomela*. Neben der Form *frendere* ist auch *frendere* belegt (ThLL VI 1, fasc. 6, p. 1286, 19 f.).

<sup>64</sup> Siehe dazu *Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius: Book VIII*, ed. B.L. Hijmans Jr. a.o. (Groningen 1985), S. 191 f.

Verg., *Aen.* VII 18, Apuleius, *Flor.* III 17 (p. 32,11 Helm) für *ululare*, Verg., *Aen.* IX 59 f. für *fremere*, Tryphiodor 615 für καρχαρέος (καρχαρέοισι λύκοισι ἐοικότες mit der lateinischen Übersetzung *Frendentibus lupis similes*); als weitere griechische Bezeichnungen führt er ὀλολυγή, ὀλολυγμός, λυκηθμός und ἀλαλητός an und zitiert bzw. schreibt folgende Stellen aus: *Suidas* s.v. Λυκηθμός, *Phavorin.* ὠρύεσθαι ἐπὶ λύκου, Nonn., *Dionys.* II 253 ὠρυγή κελάδησε λύκων, Theocr. I 71, Theophr., *de signis tempest.* 46 (p. 396, 27 Wi.), Arat 1123 (richtig: 1124 ed. Maass) und Pollux V 13 (86, p. 285,4 B.), diese beiden wieder mit lateinischer Übersetzung (*ululat* bzw. *ululatus*). Abschließend verweist er für "*Lupi rapaces*" auf "Bochart. part. I. lib. III. c. 10. p. 822"<sup>65</sup>.

Für diese Sammlung von Tierstimmen gab es bereits in der Antike einschlägige Traktate, z.B. den sog. *Tractatus de vocibus animalium*, der in einigen Handschriften unter der Überschrift Ζηνοδότου Φιλεταίρου (oder Φιλέταιρος) überliefert ist, darunter im Leid. Voss. IV 76, den später Valckenaer für seine Ammonius-Ausgabe herangezogen hat. Die lateinischen Tierstimmenkataloge, die in mehreren mittelalterlichen Handschriften überliefert und von Herausgebern des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts gedruckt worden sind, gehen im wesentlichen auf Suetons *Pratum* zurück<sup>66</sup>. Es ist allerdings zweifelhaft, ob Van Arckel diese Traktate gekannt hat; wahrscheinlicher ist die Annahme, daß diese Sammlung auf Zusammenstellungen und Abhandlungen anderer Gelehrter wie des von ihm zitierten Samuel Bochart oder auf des mehrfach

<sup>65</sup> Samuel Bochart (1599-1667), *Hierozoicon sive bipertitum opus de animalibus Sacrae Scripturae*, London 1663; vgl. Jöcher I 1151; Pökel 25; NBG VI 304-307. — Der im Vorangehenden zitierte Phavorinus ist der 1537 verstorbene Varinus Phavorinus (Guarino) aus Favara in Umbrien, der 1512 Präfekt der Bibliotheca Medicea in Florenz wurde und dessen *Magnum ac perutile Dictionarium Graecum* 1523 in Rom erschien; vgl. Jöcher III 1504 f.; Jöcher/Adelung VI 46; Zedler XLVI 618.

<sup>66</sup> Vgl. K. Nickau, RE X A, 1972, 47-49 s.v. *Zenodotos Philetairos*. Erste Edition dieses und vergleichbarer Traktate von W. Studemund, *Anecdota Varia Graeca* (Berlin, 1886), S. 101 ff., S. 284 ff.; vgl. Kallimachos fr. 725 Pf. mit Pfeiffers Kommentar. Insgesamt sind über 50 Handschriften mit solchen Traktaten überliefert, davon allein 27 bei Studemund ediert. Für die lateinischen Sammlungen vgl. A. Reifferscheid, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli praeter Caesarum libros Reliquiae*, Lipsiae 1860, 247 ff. (fr. 161) 436 ff., der S. 308 ff. auch die einschlägigen Gedichte der *Anthologia Latina* (762 und 733 Bücheler-Riese, dazu *Poetae Latini Minores* VI 1, p. 255 Wernsdorf) abdruckt. Eine weitere, bisher unbekannte Version veröffentlichte C.E. Finch, "Suetonius' Catalogue of Animal Sounds in Codex Vat. Lat. 6018", *American Journal of Philology* 90 (1969), 459-463 (der allerdings fälschlich behauptet, diese Liste von Tierstimmen sei bei Isidor, *De natura rerum* überliefert, und der Reifferscheids Siglen den falschen Editionen und Handschriften zuweist).

genannten Andreas Schott(ius) (1552-1629) *Observationum humanarum libri V* (1615) beruht.

Nicht erwähnt in Rogges' Handschriftenkatalog sind zwei andere vergleichbare Sammlungen, die ebenfalls von Van Arckel kompiliert wurden: eine schmale, nur 7 Seiten umfassende "Collectio Histrionum, in quantum quidem licuit assequi ex scriptis Historicorum, Poetarum &c. Graecorum pariter ac Latinorum", wie das Titelblatt (in Majuskeln) angibt, und ein 263 Seiten umfassendes Manuskript, betitelt "Adversaria quaedam poetica, opera et studio Cornelii van Arckel Patris inque ejus usum collecta". Die Schauspielerliste nennt 30 Namen: Aesopus, Rupilius, Scurra, Roscius, Paris, Polus, Thymele, Latinus, Diphilus, Laberius, Mnester, Percennius (aus Tac., *Ann.* I 16, wo Tacitus' Bemerkung *dux olim theatralium operarum* zitiert und mißverständlich auf schauspielerische Tätigkeit hin ausgelegt wird), Pylades, Bathyllus, Neoptolemus, Philemon, Corinthus, Philistion, Stephanio, Q. Arrius, Hylas, Eros, Laureolus, Datus, Paris alter, Antiochus, Stratocles, Demetrius, Haemus und Pellio, dazu die Stellen aus der Literatur, obschon damit die Zahl der aus der Antike bekannten Schauspieler auch nicht annähernd erschöpft ist<sup>67</sup>. Die "Adversaria" umfassen in alphabetischer Anordnung Stichwörter von *Aedificia* bis *Vita*, die ihrerseits wieder untergliedert sind in Synonyme und verwandte Begriffe, wobei auch auf andere Lemmata verwiesen wird. Die Stellen sind meist aus der antiken Literatur genommen, daneben gelegentlich auch wieder aus der philologischen Sekundärliteratur seit dem 16. Jahrhundert. Beim Lemma *Amor* z.B. wird verwiesen auf das Lemma *Nuptiae*, dann folgen die einzelnen Rubriken "Error et erratum vocatur" mit den Belegstellen Prop. I 13, 35; 9, 33 f., Verg., *Ecl.* 8, 41 und Catull 2,8 (mit der v. 1. *error* statt *ardor*), "Insidiae amoris" mit Stellen aus Properz (I 20,30; II 32,19; III 25,6) und Catull (15,16; 21,7), "Amoris vincula" (Tibull, Catull, Horaz, Vergil, Lukrez), "suspirare" (Tib. I 6, 35; Hor., *C.* III 2,8 f.; *Epod.* 11, 8 f.; *C.* III 7,10, dazu etwas außerhalb Tib. II 2,17 f.), "Spes et timor in amore et jactatio amantium in varias partes" mit Belegen aus Tibull, Properz, Ovid, Catull, Vergil und Valerius Flaccus, "Amantium color" (Tibull, Horaz,

<sup>67</sup> Zu den griechischen Schauspielern vgl. zuletzt P. Ghiron-Bistagne, *Recherches sur les acteurs dans la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1976), S. 306 ff. (Index et prosopographie des acteurs grecs), zu den römischen Schauspielern Ch. Garton, "A Revised Register of Augustan Actors", in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 30.1, hrsg. von W. Haase (Berlin/New York 1982), S. 580-609.

Nemesian, *Ecl.*), “*Meridiari* vocabant dormire cum amica sub meridiem” mit Verweis auf Ov., *Am.* I 5, Catull 61,118 f. und 32,3; ohne ausdrückliche Themenangabe sind Tib. I 2, 35 und Prop. II 15, 11 ff. zusammengestellt, ebenso das Gallienusfragment aus *Hist. Aug.* XXIII 11,8 (= *Anth. Lat.* 711 Bücheler-Riese) mit Hor., *C.* I 36,18 ff., *Epod.* 15,5 f., Ov., *Met.* IV 365 (fälschlich Buch II angegeben) und Laberius (fr. 122 Ribbeck) zum Thema *hedera* (übersehen: Catull 61,34 f.); zum Thema “*ejus Flamma, ardor*” folgt eine Zusammenstellung von Zitaten aus Catull (64,71 f.), Tibull (II 4,6), Ovid (*Met.* I 495, XI 225/8, *Her.* IV 19 f.), Vergil (*Aen.* IV 2; 66) und Seneca (*Phaedra* 99 ff., als *Hippol.* zitiert wie in den Hss. der interpolierten Rezension und den frühen Editionen), woran sich Ov., *Ars* I 669 f. und Hor., *C.* II 12,25 ff. anschließen (zum Thema “*Osculum*”, das aber nicht genannt wird). Die letzte Rubrik steht unter dem Thema “*Cantilenae cantatae ab amatoribus noctambulis, ut puella audiret, quas vel foribus incidebant aut tabellae incisam (sic) in postibus amatae suspendebant*”, das mit einer langen Reihe von Belegstellen aus Ovid, Properz, Persius, Tibull, Lukrez und Martial ausgeführt wird.

Diese wenigen Beispiele sollen genügen, um einen Eindruck von der Exzerpiertätigkeit Van Arckels zu geben, die im übrigen die normale Arbeitsweise der Philologen dieser Zeit widerspiegelt und sich daher kaum von den Vorarbeiten anderer Gelehrter des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts unterscheidet: Dies waren die Grundlagen wissenschaftlicher Tätigkeit und die Fundgruben für Parallelstellen und Realien, auf denen die großen Kommentare der Philologen fußten und die Pieter Burman d. Ä. in seinen großen Editionen mit den *Notae Vartorum* thesaurusgleich noch einmal gesammelt hatte<sup>68</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> Nur en passant sei darauf hingewiesen, daß im Rotterdamer Gemeindearchiv ein bisher kaum beachtetes Manuskript von CvA vorhanden ist: eine satirische Beschreibung des berühmten Prozesses gegen Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1618/9), worin die Richter und Geschworenen als Tiere dargestellt sind. Die 33 Beschreibungen von CvA's Hand—die beiden ersten in Reimen, die übrigen in Prosa mit gelegentlich eingestreuten Versen—korrespondieren mit 33 handkolorierten Zeichnungen auf Pergament und Papier mit entsprechenden satirischen Darstellungen des Prozesses und seiner Beteiligten; ein Vergleich von Bildern und Texten legt es nahe, die Bilder als früher entstanden zu betrachten und den Text daher als Beschreibung und Erläuterung der bereits vorliegenden Zeichnungen zu verstehen. Dann kann der Künstler, der diese Zeichnungen angefertigt hat, aber nicht der Rotterdamer Maler Jan Stolker und die Entstehungszeit nicht 1720 sein, wie Muller IV 1882, 401 Nr. 1375 A und Nieuwenhuis 1970, 267, Nr. 2217-2218 angeben, da der Maler Jan Stolker am 1.7.1724 in Amsterdam geboren und am 8.6.1785 in Rotterdam gestorben ist (Thieme/Becker XXXII 104). Als Verfasser der Texte wird CvA nur bei Nieuwenhuis 1970 l.c. genannt, ansonsten scheinen sie in der Literatur über Oldenbarnevelt nicht bekannt zu sein: vgl. den Tex IV 1970, 71 ff. 368 ff. 655 ff.

Damit wäre der letzte und wohl wichtigste Teil des handschriftlichen Nachlasses von Cornelius van Arckel erreicht: eine kommentierte Ausgabe von Flavius Cresconius Corippus, *In laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris*, des panegyrischen Epos in 4 Büchern, das Corippus in den Jahren 565/6 anlässlich der Thronbesteigung des oströmischen Kaisers Justins II. (565-578), des Nachfolgers Justinians, geschrieben hatte und das bis zur Entdeckung und Erstausgabe der *Johannis* durch Pietro Mazzucchelli (Mailand 1820) das einzige Werk war, das man von Coripp besaß<sup>69</sup>. Die Handschrift von Van Arckels Coripp-Kommentar ist im Handschriftenkatalog der Universitätsbibliothek Leiden unter der Inventar-Nr. 736 aufgeführt<sup>70</sup>, doch scheint sich seit über 200 Jahren niemand mehr damit beschäftigt zu haben. Es fehlt jeder Hinweis auf die Existenz dieses Kommentars in der Coripp-Literatur, und er ist offensichtlich auch den neuesten Herausgebern und Erklärern entgangen<sup>71</sup>.

(mit der Wiedergabe eines thematisch vergleichbaren Gemäldes von Cornelis Saftleven); über weitere Abbildungen dieser Art vgl. Muller I 1863, Nr. 1374/5: demnach war die Vorlage zu Nr. 1375 im Besitz von CvA. Zeichnungen und handschriftliche Beschreibung schenkte der Rotterdamer Stadtrat und Beigeordnete C. E. Viruly (1819-1892, vgl. NNBW II 1499) im Jahre 1882 der Stadt Rotterdam. Es handelt sich bei diesen Stücken offenbar um alten Familienbesitz aus dem Nachlaß von CvA; denn im Archivmaterial des Rotterdamer Gemeindearchivs (Notariëel 1874/1240) ist ein "Jan van Arkel, zoon van Cornelis, gehuwd geweest met Lijsbet Virulij" registriert. Die genauen verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen müßten mit Hilfe des Rotterdamer Archivmaterials noch festgelegt werden.

<sup>69</sup> Überliefert (mit Textverlust am Anfang und Ende und einigen Lücken im Innern) im Matritensis 10029 (früher Toletanus 14. 22) saec. X, fol. 17<sup>v</sup>-51<sup>r</sup>, zusammen mit Werken u.a. von Dracontius, Sedulius, Eugenius von Toledo, Verecundus, Iuvencus und Venantius Fortunatus. Neuere Editionen von Cameron 1976 und Antès 1981, ausführlicher Kommentar von Stache 1976. Die Editio princeps erschien 1581 bei Chr. Plantin in Antwerpen von Miguel Ruiz de Assagra.

<sup>70</sup> *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti, III: Codices Bibliothecae Publicae Latini*, descripsit P. C. Molhuysen, Lugduni Batavorum 1912, 152, Nr. 73: "'Corippi Africani grammatici quae supersunt', cum integris Mich. Ruizii cet. Animadversionibus novaque recensione Corn. van Arckel, cuius et accedunt notae. Autogr., editioni paratus codex.—Alterum involucrum, in 4.º, cont. 'C. W. Vonckii et Corn. van Arckel Annotationes in Corippum, item Icones Numismatum ad Corippum spectantium'; alterum, in 8.º, Corn. van Arckel Collectanea de Corippo.—Ex bibl. H. W. Tydeman, no. 659".

<sup>71</sup> Als einziger bringt S. Antès eine Erwähnung von CvA's Kommentar: "A en croire Adrianus a Cattenburgh, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Remonstrantium...*, Amstelaedami. 1778 [sic!] p. 6, Cornelius Arckelius avait composé à Rotterdam un important commentaire de l'*Éloge de Justin*, dont malheureusement la mort de son auteur a empêché la publication" (Antès 1981, p. CIX). Doch hat auch Antès offensichtlich keine weitere Kenntnis von CvA's Kommentar und auch keine Nachforschungen über dessen Verbleib angestellt, sondern schöpft lediglich aus A. van Cattenburgh.

Die Handschrift besteht aus 216 Papierblättern in Quartoformat von einer durchschnittlichen Größe von 16,5 × 21 cm und ist in einen Einband des 19. Jahrhunderts gebunden. Der Kommentar schließt sich auf dem Recto eines jeden Folios unmittelbar unter dem Coripp-Text in zwei Spalten an; daneben ist ein breiter Rand für Ergänzungen und Korrekturen freigelassen und zum Teil mit solchen ausgefüllt. Der Coripp-Text steht jeweils auf dem Recto, so daß das Verso noch für Kommentarnotizen freigehalten ist. Zwischen die Blätter normaler Größe sind gelegentlich solche kleineren Formats bis hin zu kleinen Zettelchen eingebunden mit Notizen und Hinweisen für noch zu klärende Fragen oder noch einzusehende Literatur, die aber von Molhuysen bei der mit Bleistift vorgenommenen Paginierung der einzelnen Blätter mitgezählt wurden. Das Manuskript wurde also offenbar erst nach dem Ankauf durch die Leidener Bibliothek gebunden<sup>72</sup>.

Auf fol. 1<sup>r</sup> steht von Van Arckels Hand der Titel: CORIPPI / AFRICANI GRAMMATICI / Quae supersunt<sup>73</sup> / Cum integris MICHAELIS RUIZII, / THOMAE DEMPSTERI, NICOL. / & CUNR. RITTERSHUSII / & Barthii aliorumque animadversionibus<sup>74</sup> / novaque recensione / CORNELII VAN ARCKEL / cuius & accedunt / Notae. Die Folia 1<sup>v</sup> sowie 2 und 3 enthalten Testimonia zu Coripp aus der gelehrten Literatur des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts, u.a. Auszüge aus O. Borrichius (1626-1690), *Dissertatio academica de poetis* (1683), I. Casaubonus (1550-1614), *C. Suetoni Tranquilli De XII Caesaribus Libri VIII* (1595 u.ö.), G.J. Vossius (1577-1649), *De veterum poetarum temporibus libri II qui sunt de poetis Graecis et Latinis* (1654 u.ö.) und K. von Barth (1587-1658), *Adversariorum libri LX* (1624). Ab fol. 4<sup>r</sup> beginnen die *Periochae*, die im Matritensis 10029 dem Text des Epos vorangestellt bzw. auf dem Rand geschrieben sind. Fol. 8 ist ein kleineres, nachträglich eingefügtes Blatt mit einigen Notizen Van Arckels. Auf fol. 9<sup>r</sup> beginnt der Corippertext mit den ersten 5 Versen der Praefatio \* \* \* *Deus omnia regna* etc. und dem ersten Lemma des Kommentars 1. *DEUS OMNIA REGNA*], doch bricht die Kommentierung ab, und es folgen in flüchtiger Kursive auf dem Rest der Seite eine Reihe von Autoren und Titeln sowohl der antiken

<sup>72</sup> Über den Weg des Manuskripts von CvA in die UB Leiden siehe unten S. 205.

<sup>73</sup> *Quae supersunt* nachträglich hinzugefügt; das ursprüngliche *De laudibus Iustini / Minoris Augusti / libri IV* wurde durchgestrichen.

<sup>74</sup> Diese Worte hinzugefügt statt des durchgestrichenen *novaque recensione*, doch gäbe ohne diese Worte der Satz keinen Sinn.



und spätantiken (lateinischen und griechischen) als auch der gelehrten philologischen Literatur seit dem 16. Jahrhundert, die Van Arckel vermutlich noch für die definitive Fassung seines Kommentars einsehen wollte; das geht hervor aus den Bemerkungen "investigandus locus Zonarae pag. 61" und "ante omnia consulantur *Spanhemius De usu Numism.* tomi duo. De nummis utriusque Justini vide du Cange Dissertation. Car. Patin. p. 494. Gretzer de cruc. p. 1855. Niceforus Callistus ante omnia legendus"<sup>75</sup>.

Fol. 10<sup>r</sup> ist leer, ebenso die obere Hälfte des Verso, während auf dessen unterer Hälfte der Kommentar zu V. 2 der Praefatio von fol. 11<sup>r</sup> fortgesetzt ist. Text und Kommentar beginnen somit auf fol. 11<sup>r</sup> und reichen bis fol. 143<sup>r</sup> in der oben angegebene Verteilung. Es ist jedoch—und das ist wohl Molhuysen, als er die Handschrift für den Leidener Handschriftenkatalog beschrieb, entgangen—nicht das ganze Epos des Coripp kommentiert, d.h. soweit es überhaupt überliefert ist (bis IV 377), sondern Text und Kommentar in diesem, den Charakter einer Reinschrift tragenden Manuskript, reichen nur bis II 200; die Kommentierung des restlichen Teils der *Laudes Iustini* wurde offensichtlich durch Van Arckels Tod am 29. September 1724 verhindert. Daher stimmt es auch nicht ganz, wenn Molhuysen schreibt, die Handschrift sei ein "editioni paratus codex"<sup>76</sup>: das kann nur insofern gelten, als dieser erste Teil bis II 200 bereits in einer reinschriftlichen Fassung für den Drucker abgeschrieben war; jedoch fehlte die Durchsicht letzter Hand, wie aus den eben erwähnten und gleich noch zu nennenden Verweisnotizen ersichtlich ist, und Van Arckel hätte noch zahlreiche Änderungen und Ergänzungen angebracht, wenn er den Kommentar hätte vollenden können.

Die auf das Ende des kommentierten Teils folgenden fol. 144 bis

<sup>75</sup> Gemeint sind folgende Titel: Ezechiel Freiherr von Spanheim (1629-1710), *De praestantia et usu veterum numismatum*, Rom 1664 (London/Amsterdam 1706/17); Charles du Fresne, Sieur du Cange (1610-1688), *Dissertatio de Imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum seu de inferioris aevi vel Imperii, uti vocant, Numismatibus*, Paris 1678 (in Band III des *Glossarium* angefügt); Charles Patin (1633-1694), *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata ex aere mediae et minimae formae: Descripta et Enarrata per Carolum Patinum*, Argentinae 1671 (2. Aufl. Amsterdam 1697); Jacob Gretzer (1562-1625), *De cruce Christi*, Ingolstadt 1598 (vgl. NDB VII 51-53). Zu Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, einem byzantinischen Historiker und Mönch an der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel (ca. 1256-1335), vgl. H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (München 1959), S. 705 ff. Gemeint ist hier seine Kirchengeschichte in 23 Büchern, von der noch 18 erhalten sind und die von Christi Geburt bis 610 reicht.

<sup>76</sup> Molhuysen l.c. (s. A. 70).

152<sup>77</sup> enthalten eine große Anzahl von Notizen und Hinweisen von Van Arckels Hand auf weitere noch nachzuprüfende Literatur, auf Stellen, die noch genauer erklärt werden müssen, und vor allem ab fol. 146 eine umfangreiche Sammlung von Formulierungen, offensichtlich aus anderen Kommentaren und Abhandlungen exzerpiert, die Van Arckel als Phrasensammlung für seine eigene Kommentiertätigkeit angelegt hatte: “non capio, mirifice torquent hoc verbum, corrumpit dum castigare laborat hoc versum<sup>78</sup>, an satis sit Latinum dubitare possis, importuna interpunctio totam sententiam perturbavit usque ad ..., barbarus fit et plane ἄμωσος qui ita loquitur, quaenam isthaec Latinitas!, praeclarae eruditionis vir, politissimus commentarius, qui insigniter hallucinari mihi videtur, primus ego ni fallor moneo hunc versum adulterium esse” usw. Fol. 152<sup>r</sup> enthält nochmals eine Sammlung von Stellen aus Coripp, die Van Arckel abermals überprüfen wollte, vor allem hinsichtlich Coripps imitatio von Stellen aus anderen lateinischen Dichtern und Parallelen mit anderen antiken Autoren; fol. 152<sup>v</sup> ist leer, ebenso das folgende (unpaginierte) Blatt. Fol. 153<sup>r</sup> bis 216<sup>v</sup> enthalten schließlich einen Index Corippianus, ein alphabetisch geordnetes Verzeichnis aller Wörter, die in den 4 Büchern der *Laudes Iustini*, der Praefatio und des sogenannten Panegyricus auf den Quaestor und Magister Anastasius vorkommen. Jede Seite ist in zwei Spalten unterteilt, wobei auf dem Recto nur die linke und auf dem Verso entsprechend die rechte Spalte beschrieben ist. Die jeweils freie Spalte ist Nachträgen und dem Einfügen ausgelassener Wörter vorbehalten. Da der ganze Coripp-Text berücksichtigt ist, war dieser Index vermutlich das erste, was Van Arckel bei seiner Kommentierung angefertigt hat, so daß er ihn auch bei Querverweisen innerhalb seines Kommentars benutzen konnte. Allerdings sind fol. 153 bis 164 des Index (Buchstaben A bis C) schwer verstümmelt: die rechte (leere) Spalte und der obere Teil der linken texttragenden Spalte sind abgerissen, und zwar lassen die Spuren darauf schließen, daß diese Teile naß wurden und sich dann gelöst haben. Dunkelbraune, auf Wassereinwirkung zurückgehende Flecken sind auch ab fol. 165 ff. in den rechten oberen Ecken sichtbar, die dort ebenfalls zu kleineren Blatt-

<sup>77</sup> Auf fol. 144 folgen noch sechs unbeschriebene und unpaginierte Blätter, die offensichtlich für die Fortsetzung des reinschriftlichen Teils des Kommentars gedacht waren.

<sup>78</sup> Diese Phrase wieder durchgestrichen, da er sie bereits im Kommentar zu I 326 gebraucht hatte.

aber keinen Textverlusten geführt haben; erst die fol. 180 ff. sind unbeschädigt. Die Beschädigung muß erfolgt sein, bevor die Handschrift in die UB Leiden kam, da die Bleistiftpaginierung erst nach dem Verlust durchgeführt wurde.

Eine erste Durchsicht des Kommentars, die inzwischen von einer vorläufigen Transkription des Textes begleitet wurde, hat gezeigt, daß eine Edition des Kommentars sich sehr wohl lohnen würde<sup>79</sup>. Denn Van Arckels Kommentar unterscheidet sich doch erheblich von den bis dahin erschienenen und mit *Notae* versehenen Editionen von Ruiz (Antwerpen 1581), Dempster (Paris 1610), Rivinus (Leipzig 1653) und Rittershusius (Altdorf 1664)<sup>80</sup>. Van Arckel schreibt zwar auch gelegentlich die Anmerkungen seiner Vorgänger aus, doch setzt er sich kritisch mit ihnen auseinander und versucht stets, zu einer eigenen begründeten Entscheidung nicht nur in Fragen der Textgestaltung, sondern vor allem der inhaltlichen und historischen Erklärung zu kommen. Er zieht zu diesem Zweck umfangreiche Sekundärliteratur heran und kann sich auch auf eine umfassende und gründliche Kenntnis antiker Autoren einschließlich der frühbyzantinischen stützen. Besonderen Nachdruck legt er dabei auf die archäologische, kunstgeschichtliche, epigraphische und numismatische Überlieferung, vor allem auf Inschriften, Kunstwerke, Münzen und anderes historisches Quellenmaterial. Er selbst war Münzsammler und besaß eine große Sammlung griechischer und römischer Münzen, wie Sebastiaan van der Lanen in seiner Leichenrede bemerkt<sup>81</sup> und wie auch aus einigen seiner Briefe, die in der UB Amsterdam aufbewahrt sind, hervorgeht, wo er auf seine "liefhebberey van de Medailles" zu sprechen kommt und gelegentliche Besuche von

<sup>79</sup> Die Transkriptionen von Kopien und Mikrofilmen wurden durch die Herren K.-H. Schulz, J. Wibbing (beide Bielefeld) und R. Thiel (Wiesbaden) vorgenommen; eine Reihe niederländischer handschriftlicher Texte hat Frau J. van der Bruggen (Maastricht/Bielefeld) transkribiert. Derzeit bin ich mit der Vorbereitung dieser Edition beschäftigt. Die Universität Bielefeld hat von 1980 bis 1982 dieses Projekt dankenswerterweise finanziell gefördert. Seit 1983 hat die Faculteit der Letteren der RU Groningen das Projekt innerhalb des Forschungsschwerpunktes "Erschließung griechischer und lateinischer Texte" in das Programm "Voorwaardelijk Gefinancierd Onderzoek" aufgenommen.

<sup>80</sup> Von den drei Exemplaren der Editio princeps, die sich in der UB Leiden befinden, enthält das mit der Signatur 754. G 10 die handschriftlichen Randnotizen von CvA, stammt also aus seinem Besitz und war das Handexemplar, das er für die Vorbereitung seines eigenen Kommentars benutzte. Das zweite mit der Signatur 754. G. 9.7 hat handschriftliche Notizen von A. S. Gabbema (ca. 1620-ca. 1700), das dritte mit der Signatur 754. G. 8 gehörte ursprünglich Tiberius Hemsterhuis (1685-1766).

<sup>81</sup> Van der Lanen 25; ebenda 24 auch einige Bemerkungen über CvA's Bibliothek.

Reisenden erwähnt, die ihm antike Münzen verkaufen wollen<sup>82</sup>. So ist es nicht verwunderlich, daß Van Arckel bemüht war, seinen Kommentar mit zahlreichen Abbildungen von Münzen, Statuen und Büsten zu illustrieren, die direkt auf den Corippertext Bezug haben. Eine Reihe solcher Münzabbildungen und zwei große Zeichnungen von Büsten des Justinian und Justin II. sind bereits an den betreffenden Stellen im ersten Teil des Kommentars eingeklebt, andere befinden sich noch auf losen Blättern in zwei Konvoluten, die ebenfalls in der UB Leiden unter der Signatur 736/I und 736/II aufbewahrt sind. Dieses zweite Konvolut (BPL 736/II) besteht aus insgesamt 388 paginierten Blättern in Kolumnenbreite (8 × 20,5 cm), zu denen noch Notizzettel kleineren Formats kommen, und enthält zahlreiche, oft schon fertig ausformulierte Kommentarnotizen zu *Laudes Iustini* II 232 ff., die meist ohne große Änderungen in die Reinschrift des restlichen Teils hätten übernommen werden können. Die Verteilung des Kommentars auf diesen Blättern ist so, daß fol. 1 bis 80 Kommentare und Noten zu II 232 ff. enthalten, fol. 81 bis 252 Buch III und fol. 253 bis 371 Buch IV; dazu kommen auf fol. 372 bis 388 die Kommentarnotizen zu II 201-225 (offensichtlich liegt falsche Paginierung von seiten der UB Leiden vor) und ferner—als fol. 389/390 gezählt—ein Doppelblatt mit einer handschriftlichen Notiz von Cornelius Valerius Vonck (1725-1769) über des Johannes Cuspinianus Nachricht von einem anderen Epos des Corippus, nämlich dem *Bellum Libycum* oder *Johannis*, wovon Cuspinianus Mitteilung macht, daß eine Handschrift davon in der Bibliotheca Corviniana in Budapest vorhanden sei, und die ersten fünf

<sup>82</sup> Brief von CvA an Cornelis van Alkemade, datiert Amsterdam 23.11.1699 (UB Amsterdam, Hs 1 Bn Nr. 9), wo er seine "liefhebbery van de Medailles" erwähnt. Ausführlicher spricht er in einem Brief vom 15.8.1699 aus Brielle an Cornelis van Alkemade (Hs 1 Bn No. 8) über diese "liefhebbery": Ein Herr Uylenbroek, von dem Van Alkemade ihm geschrieben hatte, habe ihn vor 5 oder 6 Wochen in Brielle besucht: "Dat hij een goede party medailjens anticque en moderne bekomen heeft, geloove ick: maar dat hy dezelve voor een civile prys zoude overdoen, kan ik niet wel aannemen", und im Verlauf des Besuches stellte es sich heraus, daß dieser renommierte Herr Uylenbroek es leider nur zu gut versteht, seine interessierte Kundschaft kräftig zu übervorteilen, so daß CvA seinen Brief schließt: "Met een woort mon Cousin, de man dient ons niet, althans ik pas op hem 't vaarsje van Martialis:

Non amo te Volusi nec possum dicere quare,

Hoc saltem possum dicere: non amo te".

(Vgl. Mart. I 32, wo CvA den Eigennamen Sabidius durch Volusius ersetzt hat: Absicht oder Verwechslung mit Volusius aus Catull 36,1 und 95,7?).

Verse zitiert<sup>83</sup>. Nachdem Vonck die Cuspinian-Notiz ausgeschrieben hat, fährt er fort: “Hactenus Cuspinianus: Ex quo haud dubie Daumius<sup>84</sup> habuit, qui Corippi *Johannidos* opus in Bibliotheca Budensi exstisise ad N. Heinsium scribit. Vide in *sylloge Burmanniana* To. V. pag. 217<sup>85</sup>. Ea autem ipsa Cuspiniani verba haud immerito ansam dederunt *Gaspari Barthio* suspicandi “opus” istud in Bibliotheca Vindobonensi reperiri. Vide eum in *Adversariorum* libris<sup>86</sup>. Constat autem Bibliothecae Budensis potissimam partem<sup>87</sup> in Vindobonensem deinceps translatam fuisse. Vide Lambecium in *Biblioth. Vindobon.* lib. II Cap. IX sub fin. &c<sup>88</sup>. Exstat libellus *de Fatis Bibliothecae Budensis*: sed quem mihi videre numquam contigit”<sup>89</sup>. Diese Nachricht über ein weiteres Epos von Coripp, das offenbar noch in Budapest oder Wien liegen mußte, führte zu einer längeren Korrespondenz von C. V. Vonck mit verschiedenen diplomatischen Vertretern in Wien und Madrid mit dem Ziel, Näheres über den Verbleib dieses von Cuspinian erwähnten Coripp-Codex zu erfahren und, was den Matritensis 10029 betrifft, *variae lectiones* zu erhalten. Beide Bemühungen sind offenbar ohne Erfolg geblieben, doch ist ein Teil dieser Korrespondenz von C. V. Vonck—zum Teil in Abschriften—in dem ersten Konvolut (BPL 736/I) enthalten. Ferner enthält dieses erste Konvolut noch handschriftliche Vorarbeiten zu den beiden Werke Voncks, in denen er auch über Coripp

<sup>83</sup> *Joannis Cuspiniani Viri Clarissimi Poetae et Medici ac D. Maximiliani Aug. Oratoris, De Caesaribus atque Imperatoribus Romanis Opus insigne*, Argentorati 1540. In der von mir benutzten Ausgabe Frankfurt 1601 (Typis Wecheliani apud Claudium Marnium & heredes Joannis Aubrii) findet sich das Coripp-Zitat auf S. 141. Siehe außerdem: *Corippi Africani Grammatici libri qui supersunt*, rec. I. Partsch, Berlin 1879, p. XLVII (MGH AA III 2); Ankiewicz-Kleehoven 1959, 111 ff.

<sup>84</sup> Christian Daum (1612-1687), stammte aus Zwickau und war seit 1642 Lehrer, seit 1662 Rektor am dortigen Gymnasium und genoß hohes Ansehen als Wissenschaftler und Pädagoge; vgl. Jöcher II 53 f.; Pökel 58; ADB IV 770 f.; Zedler VII 272 ff.

<sup>85</sup> *Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum tomi V, collecti et digesti per Petrum Burmannum*, Lugduni Batavorum 1724-1727; der Brief von Chr. Daum an N. Heinsius hier in Band V, S. 215-7.

<sup>86</sup> Caspar Barth (1587-1658), *Adversariorum libri Sexaginta Antiquitatis tam gentilis quam Christianae illustratae*, Frankfurt 1624 (2 Aufl. 1648); das Zitat: Lib. LV, cap. II, p. 2585.

<sup>87</sup> So im handschriftlichen Zusatz aus *Bibliothecam Budensem* verbessert.

<sup>88</sup> Das Stellenzitat nachgetragen. Peter Lambeck (Lambecius), 1628-1680, Professor seit 1651 und Rektor seit 1660 am Gymnasium in Hamburg, seit 1662 Bibliothekar an der Hofbibliothek in Wien. Gemeint ist sein Werk *Commentariorum de Augustissima bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi libri VIII*, Vindobonae 1665-1679 (2. Aufl. 1766-1782); das Zitat in Bd. II, 1669, 989 ff. Zu Lambeck vgl. NDB XIII 426 f.

<sup>89</sup> Dieser Satz an Stelle des ausgestrichenen Satzes: “Ubi etiam pluribus de Cuspiniano agit, illumque patris nomine Spieshammer dictum indicat”.

handelt : *Specimen criticum in varios auctores*, Trajecti ad Rhenum 1744, und *Lectionum Latinarum libri duo*, Trajecti ad Rhenum 1745. Vonck trug sich, wie aus diesen Papieren in BPL 736/I erhellt, offensichtlich mit dem Gedanken, ebenfalls eine kommentierte Edition Coripps zu besorgen, und zwar nicht nur der bereits bekannten *Laudes Iustini*, sondern auch des anderen Epos *Johannis*, das Cuspinian signalisiert hatte und dessen Handschrift er fieberhaft versuchte habhaft zu werden. Nun läßt sich, mit Hilfe der in diesen Konvoluten BPL 736/I & II erhaltenen Stücke, auch das weitere Schicksal von Van Arckels Aufzeichnungen zu Coripp aufklären :

Vonck hatte offensichtlich erfahren, daß Van Arckel einen Kommentar vorbereitet, aber nicht zum Abschluß gebracht hatte. Er versuchte nun, dieses Manuskript vom Sohne unseres Cornelius van Arckel, der gleichfalls Cornelius hieß und vom 22. Juli 1742 bis 12. September 1747 Predikant in Waddinxveen nordwestlich von Gouda war, zu erhalten. Das beweist der Brief eines unbekannten Absenders an Vonck; der obere Teil dieses Briefes ist zufällig auf fol. 22' eines Manuskripts von Voncks "Observata in Corippum repetitae lectionis" erhalten, das in BPL 736/I überliefert ist. Darin erläutert der unbekannte Briefschreiber, wie man, aus Utrecht kommend, wo Vonck damals studierte und wohnte, am besten Waddinxveen erreichen kann<sup>90</sup>. Irgendwann zwischen Juli 1742 und September 1747 gelangte also Van Arckels gesamter Nachlaß, Coripp betreffend, in den Besitz von C. V. Vonck : der als BPL 736 katalogisierte Kommentar bis II 200, die im Konvolut BPL 736/II versammelten Kommentarnotizen und -entwürfe zum Rest des Epos und die im Konvolut BPL 736/I enthaltenen Abbildungen und Numismata, die für die Druckfassung des Kommentars geplant waren, sowie zwei Gedichte auf Cornelius van Arckel, auf die gleich noch

<sup>90</sup> Der Text lautet : "Myn Heer, de Standplaats van D<sup>s</sup> van Arckel is Waddinxveen; om daar na toe te komen, is 't het gemakkelijkst met de Leidsche Schuyt te vaeren tot Bodegraven. Van daar met het Bodegraavsche Schuijtje tot de Rewijksche Brug, daar uit te stappen en verder te voeteeren tot Waddinxveen dat zich zelv zal wijzen evenwel onderstellende dat men een tong heeft om te vraagen ...". Vonck studierte von 1741 bis 1745 in Utrecht, in welche Zeit der Erwerb von CvA's Coripp-Nachlaß fallen wird. Unter Berücksichtigung der Amtszeit von Van Arckel Czn. in Waddinxveen und dem Erscheinen von Voncks *Specimen criticum* (1744) und *Lectiones Latinae* (1745) wird man an ein frühes Datum, etwa 1743, denken dürfen.—Zu dem in dem Brief angesprochenen Transportsystem der Schuyten vgl. die neue Studie von J. de Vries, *Barges and Capitalism. Passenger Transportation in the Dutch Economy, 1632-1839*, A.A.G. (= Afdeling Agrarische Geschiedenis, Landbouwhogeschool) Bijdragen 21, Wageningen 1978, 33-398.

einzugehen sein wird. Ferner erwarb Vonck auch Van Arckels Handexemplar der Coripp-Editio Princeps von Ruiz de Assagra (1581), in dem sich handschriftliche Notizen Van Arckels befinden. Ebenfalls im Besitz von Vonck befand sich ein zweites Exemplar der Editio Princeps mit handschriftlichen Notizen des Archivdirektors und Historiographen von Friesland, Simon Abbes Gabbema (ca. 1620-ca.1700) aus Leeuwarden, und ein Exemplar der kommentierten Coripp-Ausgabe von Th. Dempster (Paris 1610).

Doch Vonck kam auch nicht dazu, den geplanten Coripp-Kommentar zu schreiben, da er 1745 im Rechtswissenschaft promovierte und sich dann als Advokat in Cuyk bei Nijmegen niederließ, später Secretaris der Stadt Nijmegen wurde und eine Laufbahn im Verwaltungslieben einschlug und 1763 nach Deutschland ging, wo er sich zum Katholizismus bekehrte und an den Hof des Kurfürsten Karl Theodor von der Pfalz kam. 1765 kehrte er in ein Kloster nach Uden in der Herrschaft Ravenstein zurück, wo er am 17. Januar 1768 starb<sup>91</sup>. Aus seinem Nachlaß hatte später der niederländische Rechtsgelehrte Hendrik Willem Tydeman (1778-1863)<sup>92</sup> das Manuskript von Van Arckels Kommentar mit den beiden Konvoluta, zu denen Voncks Aufzeichnungen und die genannte Korrespondenz um den Codex Budensis der *Johannis* hinzugekommen waren, zusammen mit den genannten Editionen erworben; dies geht aus dem Versteigerungskatalog der Bibliothek Tydeman hervor, die zwischen 1864 und 1866 durch Martinus Nijhoff in Den Haag versteigert wurde, der 5. Teil mit den Handschriften vom 23.-28. Oktober 1865<sup>93</sup>. Bei dieser Versteigerung konnte sich die UB Leiden u.a. auch den Coripp-Kommentar

<sup>91</sup> vdAa VII 98; NNBW V 1066-1068.

<sup>92</sup> NNBW II 1461-1464.

<sup>93</sup> *Catalogus der Bibliotheek nagelaten door Mr. H. W. Tydeman, Hoogleraar te Leiden. Verkoop te 's-Gravenhage. Deel V: Catalogus der Handschriften, Portretten, Platen en Kaarten, nagelaten door de WelEd. HoogGel. Heer Mr. H. W. Tydeman, 's-Gravenhage/Leiden 1865.* Hier auf S. 60 Nr. 659 unter "Littérature ancienne" die folgende Beschreibung: "Corippi Afric. grammat., Quae supersunt, cum integris M. Ruizii, T. Dempsteri, N. et C. Rittershusii et C. Barthii aliorumque selectis animadvers., novaque recens. CORN. VAN ARCKEL, cujus et accedunt notae. Ms. du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec des pl. dessin. 4 to. Ouvrage inédit, entièrement préparé pour la presse. Joint: 1<sup>o</sup>. l'apparat pour cette édition, sur des feuilles sépar. 2<sup>o</sup>. Numismata et alia ad Corippum spect. 3<sup>o</sup>. l'édition de Ruizius (Antv., Plantin. 1581) avec des notes MS. de S.A. Gabbema. 4<sup>o</sup>. la même édition avec des notes MS. de C. van Arckel. 5<sup>o</sup>. l'édition de Dempsterus (Paris, Rezé. 1610). 6<sup>o</sup>. C.V. VONCK, Observata ad Corippum, 3 cahiers. Cette collection provient du savant C.V. Vonck, à qui le fils de C. van Arckel avait confié la publication de l'ouvrage de son père".

Van Arckels zusammen mit seinen und Voncks handschriftlichen Notizen sowie den genannten Editionen aus Van Arckels und Voncks Nachlaß sichern; seitdem werden die genannten Stücke in der UB Leiden aufbewahrt.

Tydeman lag offenbar sehr daran, daß der Coripp-Kommentar Van Arckels durch einen kompetenten Bearbeiter vollendet und herausgegeben würde. Wie aus seinem Briefwechsel mit dem Dichter Willem Bilderdijk (1756-1831)<sup>94</sup> hervorgeht, versuchte er mehrmals, diesen für den Kommentar zu interessieren. So bemerkte Tydeman in seinem Brief vom 13.4.1813 im PS.: "Hebt gij ook immer iets gedaan over CORIPPUS? Ik heb ter uitgave gekregen den zeer zorgvuldig, maar langgeleden bewerkten apparatus door Corn. Van Arckel en C.W. Vonck: en wilde gaarne zoo veel mogelijk completeren 't geen over Cor. gewerkt is". Bilderdijk entgegnete darauf in einem Brief vom 17.4.1813: "Over Corippus heb ik niets gedaan.—Kunt gij mij uw stuk niet eens mededeelen"? Am 28.4.1813 fragte Tydeman erneut, ohne offensichtlich das Manuskript an Bilderdijk geschickt zu haben: "Hebt gij ook immer iets gedaan op Corippus. Ik heb in handen de bewerking van den Rem. Predt. C. v. Arckel, welke door C.V. Vonck vervolgd was (doch van Vonck mis ik iets). — Wanneer er eens eenige rust komt, wilde ik dit werk wel uitgeven en er dan bij doen, immers gebruiken, hetgeen door anderen geobserveerd en geemendeerd is". Darauf entgegnete Bilderdijk am 1.5.1813 knapp: "Aan Corippus heb ik niets gedaan", und damit war dieses Thema zwischen ihm und Tydeman abgetan<sup>95</sup>.

Damit war erneut ein wenn freilich auch schwacher Versuch gescheitert, die Arbeiten Van Arckels zu Coripp endlich an die Öffentlichkeit zu bringen. Man war sich indessen der Bedeutung des Kommentars wohl bewußt, und bereits die Zeitgenossen und Freunde Van Arckels sahen der Vollendung und Publikation des Werks ungeduldig entgegen. Dies beweisen zwei bisher ungedruckte Gedichte, die im Konvolut BPL 736/I enthalten sind, also damals an Van Arckel geschickt wurden, der sie zu seinen Coripp-Unterlagen nahm, und die abschließend erstmals veröffentlicht werden sollen.

<sup>94</sup> *Briefwisseling van Mr. W. Bilderdijk met de Hoogleraren en Mrs. M. en H.W. Tydeman gedurende de Jaren 1807 tot 1831*. Uitgegeven door H.W.T. Tydeman, Predikant te Rosendaal (Noord-Brabant), 2 dln. (Sneek 1866/7). Zu W. Bilderdijk siehe M.J.G. de Jong/W. Zaal, *Bilderdijk. Een overzicht van zijn leven en een keuze uit zijn werken* (Kampen 1960).

<sup>95</sup> Die Stellen in der Ausgabe des Briefwechsels l.c. I, 394. 396. 399. 401.



Das erste dieser Gedichte<sup>96</sup> ist ein Autograph von Franciscus Hesselius<sup>97</sup>, datiert Januar 1706 :

{ Franciscus Hesselius  
Cornelio Arkelio  
S.D.P.

Arkeli amice, gloria ordinis sacri et  
Politioris litteraturae decus;  
Quando videbit eruditorum chorus  
Bono Corippum collocatum in lumine?  
5 Hoc cogitabas perdiuque et sedulo.  
Quare moraris? Invidos ronchos times  
Et probra eorum, qui nihil rectum putant  
Nisi id, quod ipsi fecerint? Hos tu, velim,  
Unius assis aestimes. Nam qui cupit  
10 Laudes honestas conscientia sua  
Innexus et de litteris bonis bene  
Studet mereri cum bonorum applausibus;  
Non ille foedas circulatorum strophas,  
Non ille clanculariorum scommata  
15 Frisonum inultus audit. Haecce natio  
Silentio quum praeteritur, plectitur.  
Quid attineret stercore infici manus?  
Odore solo laeditur nasus satis.

1706. Januarius

Das Gedicht besteht aus 18 jambischen Senaren und ist wohl als Neujahrsgruß für Cornelius van Arckel gedacht. Nach der preisenden, seinen wissenschaftlichen Ruhm unterstreichenden Anrede der ersten zwei Verse fragt Hesselius in V. 3 ff., wann endlich sein Corippus veröffentlicht werde. Daraus kann man schließen, daß Van Arckel bereits um die Jahreswende 1705/6, also in seinem 35. Lebensjahr und 19 Jahre noch, bevor der Tod die Arbeit am unvollendeten Kommentar unterbrach, längere Zeit damit beschäftigt gewesen sein muß. Die Anfänge seiner Arbeit am Coripp können deswegen noch in die erste Zeit seiner Predikantentätigkeit in Brielle datiert werden, vielleicht auf Grund von Anregungen, die er während seiner Ausbildung in

<sup>96</sup> Handschrift : Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, Ms. BPL 736/I : Cornelii van Arckel Schedulae ad Corippum necnon Numismata, fol. 18 (Autograph). Papierblatt 16,5 × 21 cm, einseitig beschrieben. Bisher unveröffentlicht.

<sup>97</sup> Siehe A. 28.

Amsterdam unter Le Clerc erhalten hat. Offensichtlich gab es Gegner Van Arckels, die vielleicht in der Umgebung der am Poetenstreit Beteiligten gesucht werden müssen, welche versuchten, seine wissenschaftlichen und literarischen Produktionen herabzusetzen: Auf sie spielt Hesselius in V. 6 mit der Martialreminiszenz *invidos ronchos times* an<sup>98</sup>. Gegen diese wird Van Arckel als einer der *boni* und einer, der sich um die *bonae litterae* verdient macht, abgehoben, dem daher auch die *boni* applaudieren. Der Schluß bringt einen heftigen Ausfall gegen die *circulatores* und *clancularii Frisones*<sup>99</sup>, der ebenfalls auf bestimmte Personen des Poetenstreites zielen dürfte, und endet mit dem bösen Vergleich vom stinkenden Misthaufen<sup>100</sup>.

Das zweite Gedicht ist ohne Verfassernamen und konnte bisher von mir noch nicht einem bestimmten Autor zugeschrieben werden<sup>101</sup>.

In  
Clarissimi Viri  
Cornelii Arkelii  
Doctissimas Lucubrationes

Qui mysta solers pectore candido  
Fontem salutis, sancta volumina,  
Explanat indoctis viamque  
Omnibus ad superos recessus

<sup>98</sup> Mart. IV 8, 7 *nec rhonchos metues maligniorum*, cf. I 3,5 *maiores ... rhonchi*.

<sup>99</sup> Die Latinisierung von σκῶμμα = *scommma* bei Macrob., *Sat.* VII 3,1 ff., dessen Kontext hier heranzuziehen ist. Mart. X 3,5 spricht von einem *poeta quidam clancularius*, ebenda V. 2 von *foeda linguae probra circulatoricis*.

<sup>100</sup> Die Anspielung auf die Friesen läßt sich vorerst nicht weiter konkretisieren. Man kann an die allgemeine Geringschätzung der Friesen denken, wie sie im Spruch "Frisia non cantat" zum Ausdruck kommt, man kann aber auch an einzelne Figuren aus dem Vorfeld des Poetenstreites denken wie z.B. an den Rektor der Lateinschule zu Bolsward, Johannes Hilarides (1648-1725), der zum Bekanntenkreis von Jacob Perizonius gehörte, als dieser Professor in Franeker war (1681-1693) und in heftige Fehden u.a. mit David van Hoogstraten verwickelt war; vgl. über ihn vdAa III 250 f.; NNBW VI 784 f.; Nolen 1886, 11; Kossmann 1915, 31 f.; te Winkel V 79. 93; Meijer 1971, 72. Auch Perizonius, der zuerst gute Beziehungen mit Petrus Francius, Janus Broekhusius und David van Hoogstraten unterhielt—alles Freunde von CvA—, entfremdete sich seit seinem Weggang nach Leiden 1693 diesem Kreis, und das Verhältnis zu den anderen Mitgliedern kehrte sich ins Gegenteil um; vgl. Meijer 1971, 99 ff.

<sup>101</sup> Handschrift: Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, Ms. BPL 736/I: Cornelii van Arckel Schedulae ad Corippum necnon Numismata, fol. 5 (Autograph?), Papierblatt 16,5 × 21 cm; Recto: Strophe 1-7, Verso: Strophe 8-11. Bisher unveröffentlicht.

- 5 Pandit benigni nomine numinis,  
Qui non supino splendidus otio  
Antiquitates vel Pelasgas  
Ausoniasve sacrosque ritus,
- 10 Inscriptiones, rara numismata,  
Erosa priscae rudera gloriae,  
Quibus superbit Roma Victrix,  
Explicat ingenio sagaci,
- 15 Qui mulcet aures verbere pectinis  
Blande sonantis carmina, qualia  
Et Flaccus olim et Sarbievus  
Pindarico cecinere plectro :
- 20 Nae natus ille in publica commoda  
Conjugat apte dulcibus utile  
Et spretor abjectae Vacunae  
Invigilat studiis honestis.
- Tu, juncte nobis foedere mutuo  
Sinceri amoris, talis es, Arkeli,  
Mellita Suadae tu medulla,  
Grande decus columenque Pindi.
- 25 Per te renident pluribus in locis  
Docti labores et meletemata  
Illustrium scriptis virorum,  
Quos pia posteritas honorat :
- 30 Caliginosa nocte reconditae  
Vestro politae pumice Junii  
Splendore lucubrationes  
Iam novo et insolito refulgent.
- 35 Orci cavernis qui latuit diu,  
Squallore tectus qui jacuit diu,  
Afer Corippus nunc in oras  
Aërias vigili labore
- 40 Per te reductus prodit et elegans  
Vultu sereno Caesaris inclyti  
Praeclara Justini secundi  
Gesta canit facili camaena.
- Virtute macte, invicte laboribus,  
Inserviendo Palladis artibus  
Sic perge successu beato  
Nobilitare perenne nomen.

Das Gedicht besteht aus elf alkäischen Strophen, dem feierlichen Versmaß von Horazens Römeroden, und ist auch sonst in Stil und Ausdruck ganz diesem Dichter nachempfunden. In den ersten vier Strophen wird das Bild eines nahezu vollkommenen, der Verkündigung des Wortes Gottes, der Beschäftigung mit der Antike, sowohl der römischen als der griechischen, und der eigenen Dichtung im Stile eines Horaz oder des Mathias Kasimir Sarbiewski (1595-1640), des 'polnischen Horaz', lebenden *poeta doctus* entworfen. Besonderen Nachdruck innerhalb der wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit Van Arckels erhalten seine Studien zur antiken Religion, zu den Inschriften und zur Numismatik, die sich vor allem in seinem Kommentar zu Coripp niedergeschlagen haben. In Strophe 5 wird er dann gepriesen als *natus in publica commoda*, als Verächter einer vergeudeten Freizeit—hierfür steht metonymisch die antike Göttin Vacuna, die als Symbol eines unbeschwert-ländlichen Lebens bei Horaz, *Epist.* I 10,49 und *Ov., Fast.* VI, 307 ff. erscheint und die unser Autor als *abjecta Vacuna* negativ besetzt, um dadurch um so besser die positive Einschätzung von Van Arckels nächtlicher Arbeit (*invigilat*) an den *studia honesta* herauszustellen<sup>102</sup>. Strophe 6, die Mittelstrophe des Gedichts und dadurch gleichsam dessen Höhepunkt, mit *Tu* feierlich eingeleitet und mit der Namensnennung *Arkeli* genau in der Mitte der Strophe und damit des ganzen Gedichts, konstatiert die Erfüllung dieses vorhin gezeichneten Ideals durch Van Arckel, der mit einer Kombination von Ennius- und Horazitat als *mellita Suadae medulla* und *grande decus columenque Pindi* apostrophiert wird<sup>103</sup>. In Strophe 7-10 werden dann die Leistungen Van Arckels genannt, die diese Gleichsetzung rechtfertigen: die Ausgabe von Schriften berühmter Männer (Strophe 7), womit implizit auf die 1699 und 1700 herausgegebenen *Dissertationes* angespielt sein kann, insbesondere aber der *Animadversa* des Hadrianus Junius (Strophe 8) und des Coripp-Kommentars (Strophe 9-10), dessen

<sup>102</sup> Zu Vacuna vgl. F. Bömer im Kommentar zu *Ov., Fast.* VI 307 (Bd. II, Heidelberg 1958, 360 f.), zuletzt G. Dumézil, *Vacuna*, *Numen Suppl.* 21, 1972 (*Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren*, Pars prior), 307-311. Zum Topos des *invigilare* als Charakterisierung literarischer Tätigkeit—hier vielleicht mit Anspielung auf *Cor., Laud. Iust.* I 8. 55, IV 182 ff., *Pan. Anast.* 42 ff.—siehe Stache 1976, 105 f.

<sup>103</sup> Ennius Ann. 308 V.<sup>2</sup> Skutsch: *Suadaique medulla*, von M. Cornelius Cethegus (cos. 204 v. Chr.) gesagt, wobei *Suada* als Latinisierung der griechischen Πειθῶ zu verstehen ist. Horaz, c. II 17,4 nennt—an derselben Versstelle—*Maecenas grande decus columenque rerum*, vgl. Nisbet/Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book II* (Oxford 1978), S. 275.

Erscheinen in Kürze erwartet wird. Strophe 11 beschließt mit einem allgemeinen Preis auf Van Arckel und der Verheißung seines ewigen Ruhms das Gedicht.

Der bisher noch unidentifizierte Verfasser dieses Gedichts sollte sich getäuscht haben : Van Arckel fand keine Zeit mehr, die weit gediehene Arbeit am Corippus abzuschließen und das Werk *in oras aërias*, so wie sein Freund es sich erhoffte, hinausgehen zu lassen. Das Manuskript wurde von seinem Sohn bewahrt, aber er arbeitete daran nicht weiter und verkaufte es schließlich an C. V. Vonck. Doch auch dieser fand keine Zeit dafür, ebensowenig wie H. W. Tydeman oder W. Bilderdijk. Und nachdem alles 1865 in den Besitz der UB Leiden übergegangen war, versank es dort mitsamt seinem Autor in Vergessenheit. Von der Katalognotiz hat niemand Kenntnis genommen, Van Arckels Platz in der Geschichte der Coripp-Forschung war vergessen. Also wurde auch der Wunsch des Dichters nicht wahr : *Sic perge successu beato Nobilitare perenne nomen*—der Nachruhm vermochte sich nicht einzustellen, wenn die Hinterlassenschaft weitergereicht wurde, ohne einen Bearbeiter zu finden, wenn die Gedichte nicht gesammelt und ediert wurden, wenn seine Biographie ungeschrieben blieb. Vielleicht kann, 260 Jahre nach seinem Tod, seiner wissenschaftlichen Leistung endlich die Gerechtigkeit zuteil werden, die ihr schon längst gebührt hätte.

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen  
Klassiek Instituut  
Pleiadenlaan 10-26  
NL-9742 NG Groningen

#### ANHANG : NEDERLANDICA VON UND UM CORNELIUS VAN ARCKEL

Im Rahmen dieses Aufsatzes und dieser Zeitschrift ist es nicht möglich, auch eine Würdigung der Arbeiten Van Arckels in niederländischer Sprache zu versuchen. Lediglich der Vollständigkeit halber sei daher eine kurze Zusammenstellung der übrigen publizierten Schriften Van Arckels, soweit sie niederländische Sprache und Literatur betreffen, gegeben mit dem Ziel einer ersten vorläufigen Inventarisierung und weiterer Anregung für künftiges Suchen.

1. *Lykpredikatie uit Ezai : LVII:2 over den Eerwaardigen, Geleerden en Godtvrughtigen Petrus Bos, Leeraer in de Remonstrantsch-Gereformeerde Gemeente te*

*Rotterdam, Overleden den 28 van Bloeymaent 1718.* Uitgesproken door Cornel. van Arckel, Mede-Leeraer derzelve Gemeente. Te Rotterdam By de Wed : Paulus Boekenes en Zoon, en by de Wed : Nikolaas Bos. Boekverkoopers. 1718. 27 S., davon S. 26 f. : Grafnaelt voor den Eerwaerdigen Heere Petrus Bos, Leeraer der Remonstranten te Rotterdam (von C. van Arckel)<sup>104</sup>.

2. *Uitbreiding der Psalmen van Koning David, door den Heer Mr. Pieter de Groot*, uitgegeven door Korn. van Arkel. Te Rotterdam by Jan Daniel Beman. MDCCXXIV. 495 S., davon 6 Seiten Vorwort : De Uitgever aen den Lezer, von C. van Arckel<sup>105</sup>.

3. *De Gedichten van Joost van Geel*, uitgegeven door Korn. van Arkel. Te Rotterdam by Jan Daniel Beman. MDCCXXIV. 416 S., davon 7 Seiten Vorwort : Korn. van Arkel aen den Lezer<sup>106</sup>.

4. *Gedicht op de Zilveren Bruiloft van W. van Es en K. Bruinvis*, door Corn. van Arckel en J. Suderman. o.J., 4<sup>o</sup><sup>107</sup>.

5. *Gedicht op het Huwelijk van Kaspar Brandt en Leonora Tongerloo*. 's-Gravenhage 1686. 4<sup>o</sup><sup>108</sup>.

6. *Gedicht op het Huwelijk van Kasper Brandt en Agatha Taats*, door Corn. van Arckel en C. Francius. Amsterdam 1691. 4<sup>o</sup>.

7. Grafschrift voor den Heere Adriaen van der Werf, Ridder, door Corn. van Arckel, in: J. van Gool, *De Nieuwe Schouburg der Nederlantsche Kunstschilders en Schilderessen*, deel II, 's-Gravenhage 1751, S. 404 f.

An Klage- und Trauergedichten über den Tod von Cornelius van Arckel erschienen im Druck :

1. Rouwklagt Over het afsterven van mynen zaligen vriend en Eerwaerdigen Heere Kornelis van Arckel, Leeraer der Remonstrantse Gemeente te Rotterdam, door A. P., in : *Lykrede* ... door Sebastiaan van der Lanen<sup>109</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> Zu Petrus Bos vgl. oben A. 7.

<sup>105</sup> Pieter de Groot (1615-1678), der zweite Sohn von Hugo de Groot (Hugo Grotius, 1583-1645); vgl. vdA III 144 f.; NNBW X 305 f. Eine weitere Auflage dieser Ausgabe von CvA erschien 1765 in Amsterdam.

<sup>106</sup> Joost van Geel (1631-1698), vor allem als Maler bekannt; vgl. vdAa III 17; NNBW VII 462-465.

<sup>107</sup> Jan Suderman, aus einer Rotterdamer Remonstrantenfamilie gebürtig, gehörte zum Freundeskreis Van Arckels und zu den Gelegenheitsdichtern in der Vondeltradition und war auch im "Poëtenoorlog" engagiert; vgl. vdAa VI 334; Knuvelde 476; te Winkel V 100. Bei J. van Gool, *De Nieuwe Schouburg der Nederlantsche Kunstschilders en Schilderessen* II ('s-Gravenhage 1751) S. 400 ff. sind einige Grabgedichte von ihm abgedruckt.

<sup>108</sup> Kaspar Brandt (1653-1696), der älteste Sohn von Geeraert Brandt (1594-1659), heiratete nach dem Tod, seiner ersten Frau Sara Zwaardkroon († 23.7.1688) im Jahre 1689 Leonora Tongerloo, die jedoch bereits am 9.12.1689 starb. Am 5.3.1691 ging er seine dritte Ehe mit Agatha Taats ein; vgl. vdAa I 366 f.; NNBW VI 182 f.; BWPGN I 585-587 und oben A. 36.

<sup>109</sup> Vgl. oben A. 2.

2. Graftschrift voor den Eerwaerdigen en Geleerden Heere Kornelis van Arkel, Leeraer der Remonstrantsche Gemeente te Rotterdam, door A. B.<sup>110</sup>, in: *Lykrede* ... door Sebastiaan van der Lanen.

3. Graftschrift voor den Heere Kornelis van Arkel, in zyn Eerwaerdigheits Leven Getrouw Leeraer der Remonstranten te Rotterdam, door Marinus Oude-naerde, in: *Lykrede* ... door Sebastiaan van der Lanen.

4. Uitvaert van den Eerwaerdigen en Geleerden Heere Kornelis van Arkel, Bedienaar des Godlyken Woorts in de Gemeente der Remonstranten te Rotterdam, door Hubert Kornelissoon Poot, in: *Gedichten*. Tweede deel, Delft 1728, 278-284 (separater Erstdruck: Delft, 1724)<sup>111</sup>.

5. Lykgedachtenis van den eerwaerdigen en zeergeleerden Heere Kornelis van Arkel, in zyn leven leeraer der Remonstranten te Rotterdam, in: Arnold Hoogvliets Mengelgedichten. Te Delft, by Pieter vander Kloot, 1738, 362-364<sup>112</sup>.

### Verzeichnis der abgekürzt zitierten Literatur

CvA	Cornelius van Arckel.
Cornelius van Arckel 1718	Cornelius van Arckel, <i>Lykpredikatie uit Ezai LVIII 2 over den Eerwaerdigen, Geleerden en Godvruchtigen Petrus Bos, Leeraer in de Remonstrantsch-Gereformeerde Gemeente te Rotterdam, Overleden den 28 van Bloeymaent 1718</i> , Rotterdam, 1718.
vdAa	A.J. van der Aa, <i>Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden</i> , 21 Bände, Haarlem, 1852-1878 (hier zitiert nach dem Reprint in 7 Bänden).
Academia Groningana	<i>Academia Groningana, MDCXIV-MCMXIV. Gedenkboek ter gelegenheid van het derde eeuwfeest der Universiteit te Groningen</i> , Groningen, 1914.
ADB	<i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i> . 56 Bände, Leipzig, 1875-1912.
AGN	<i>Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden</i> . 2e editie, uitg. door D.P. Blok e.a., Haarlem, 1978 ff.
Ankwicz-Kleehoven 1979	H. Ankwicz-Kleehoven, <i>Der Wiener Humanist Johannes Cuspinian. Gelehrter und Diplomat zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilians I.</i> , Graz/Köln, 1959.

<sup>110</sup> Anna Bran(d)t, Witwe von Gerard Blockerus, Notar in Rotterdam, die in den Rotterdamer Notariatsprotokollen dieser Zeit häufiger erwähnt wird (Archivmaterial im Gemeentearchief Rotterdam). Das Manuskript dieses kurzen Gedichtes befindet sich unter der Signatur Nr. 290 im Rotterdamer Gemeentearchief, cf. Nieuwenhuis 1970/1, S. 25, Nr. 290 (Papierblatt 30 × 19,8 cm).

<sup>111</sup> Vgl. Geerars 1954, 203 ff. 225 f.

<sup>112</sup> Arnold Hoogvliet (1687-1763), durch eine Übersetzung von Ovids *Fasti* und ein Biblepos *Abraham de Aartsvader* bekannter Dichter und Zeitgenosse Van Arckels; vgl. vdAa III 364-366; NNBW VII 620 f.; zuletzt ausführlich GLN VI 103-111.

- Antès 1981 *Corippe (Flavius Cresconius Corippus), Éloge de l'empereur Justin II.* Texte établi et traduit par S. Antès, Paris, 1981.
- Bangs 1971 C. Bangs, *Arminius. A Study in the Dutch Reformation*, Nashville/New York, 1971.
- Barnes 1938 A. Barnes, *Jean Le Clerc (1657-1736) et la République des lettres*, Paris, 1938.
- Barnouw 1963 P.J. Barnouw, *Philippus van Limborch (1633-1712)*, Den Haag, 1963.
- BLGNP *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse protestantisme.* Redactie: D. Nauta, A. de Groot, O.J. de Jong, S. van der Linde en G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes, Kampen, 1978 ff.
- Blok 1949 F.F. Blok, *Nicolaas Heinsius in dienst van Christina van Zweden*, Delft, 1949.
- van der Blom 1978 N. van der Blom, *Grep en uit de geschiedenis van het Erasmiaans Gymnasium 1328-1978*, Rotterdam, 1978.
- Boeles 1879/89 W.B.S. Boeles, *Frieslands Hoogeschool en het Rijks Athenaeum te Franeker*, 2 Bde., Leeuwarden, 1879/89.
- Bot 1955 P.N.M. Bot, *Humanisme en onderwijs in Nederland*, Utrecht/Antwerpen, 1955.
- Bots 1981 *De "Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique" (1686-1693). Een periodiek als trefpunt van geleterd Europa*, door H. Bots, H. Hillenaar, J. Janssen, J. van der Korst en L. van Lieshout, Amsterdam, 1981.
- Bouman 1844/7 H. Bouman, *Geschiedenis van de voormalige Geldersche Hoogeschool en hare hoogleeraren*, 2 Bde., Utrecht, 1844/7.
- Bouman 1982 J. Bouman, *Nederlandse gelegenheidsgedichten voor 1700 in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek te 's-Gravenhage. Catalogus van gedrukte gedichten op gedenkwaardige gebeurtenissen in het leven van particuliere personen*, Nieuwkoop, 1982.
- BWPGN *Biographisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland*, onder redactie van J.P. de Bie en J. Loosjes, 6 Bde., 's-Gravenhage, 1903-1949.
- Cameron 1976 *Flavius Cresconius Corippus, In laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris libri IV.* Ed. with translation and commentary by Av. Cameron, London, 1976.
- Christina Queen of Sweden* *Christina Queen of Sweden: A Personality of European Civilization*, Stockholm, 1966.
- Cox-Andrau 1976 M.S.J. Cox-Andrau, *De dichter Pieter Vlaming (1686-1734). Een studie over zijn werk met een levensbeschrijving*, Bussum, 1976.
- Fabricius 1760 J.A. Fabricius, *Bibliographia Antiquaria sive Introductio in notitiam scriptorum qui antiquitates Hebraicas Graecas Romanas et Christianas scriptis illustrarunt.* Editio tertia ... studio et opera Paulii Schaffsgausen, Hamburg, 1760.
- Fortgens 1958 H.W. Fortgens, *Schola Latina. Uit het verleden van ons voorbereidend hoger onderwijs*, Zwolle, 1958.



- Frijhoff 1981 W. Th. M. Frijhoff, *La société néerlandaise et ses gradués, 1575-1814. Une recherche sérielle sur le statut des intellectuels*, Amsterdam, 1981.
- Gedenkboek Amsterdam 1932 *Gedenkboek van het Athenaeum en de Universiteit van Amsterdam 1632-1932*, Amsterdam, 1932.
- Geerars 1954 C. M. Geerars, *Hubert Korneliszoon Poot*, Assen, 1954.
- Gerretzen 1940 J. G. Gerretzen, *Schola Hemsterhusiana. De herleving der Grieksche studiën aan de Nederlandsche universiteiten in de achttiende eeuw van Perizonius tot en met Valckenaer*, Nijmegen, 1940.
- GLN VI *Geschiedenis van de Letterkunde der Nederlanden, deel VI: De Letterkunde in de achttiende eeuw in Noord en Zuid*, door H. J. Vieu-Kuik en J. Smeyers, Antwerpen/Amsterdam, 1975.
- Golden 1972 S. Golden, *Jean Le Clerc*, New York, 1972.
- Groenhuis 1970 G. Groenhuis, *De predikanten. De sociale positie van de gereformeerde predikanten in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden voor ± 1700*, Groningen, 1970.
- Gruys/de Wolf 1980 J. A. Gruys/C. de Wolf, *Typographi et bibliopolae neerlandici usque ad annum MDCC thesaurus. Nederlandse boekdruckers en boekverkopers tot 1700 met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid*, Nieuwkoop, 1980.
- de Haan 1960 A. A. M. de Haan, *Het wijsgerig onderwijs aan het Gymnasium Illustre en de hogeschool te Harderwijk 1599-1811*, Harderwijk, 1960.
- Hazard 1935 P. Hazard, *La crise de la conscience européenne*, 3 Bde., Paris, 1935.
- Hazewinkel H. C. Hazewinkel, *Geschiedenis van Rotterdam*, 3 Bde., Amsterdam, 1940-1942.
- Heering/Sirks 1934 G. J. Heering/G. J. Sirks, *Het Seminarium der Remonstranten driehonderd jaar: 1634-1934*, Amsterdam, 1934.
- ter Horst 1934 D. J. ter Horst, *Daniel Heinsius 1586-1655*, Utrecht, 1934.
- ter Horst 1938 D. J. ter Horst, *Isaac Vossius en Salmasius: Een episode uit de 17de-eeuwse geleerdengeschiedenis*, Den Haag, 1938.
- IJsewijn 1977 J. IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, Amsterdam/New York/Oxford, 1977.
- Itterzon 1929 G. P. van Itterzon, *Franciscus Gomarus*, 's-Gravenhage, 1929.
- Jöcher C. G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon, darinne die Gelehrten aller Stände ... in alphabetischer Ordnung beschrieben werden*, 4 Teile, Leipzig, 1750/1.
- Jöcher/Adelung *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen zu Christian Gottlieb Jöchers Allgemeinem Gelehrten-Lexico ... von Joh. Christ. Adelung* (ab 3. Band: fortgesetzt von Heinr. Wilh. Rotermond), 6 Bde., Leipzig/Delmenhorst/Bremen 1784-1819; dazu 7. Band, hrsg. von O. Günther, Leipzig, 1897.
- Jurriaanse 1965 M. W. Jurriaanse, *The Founding of Leyden University*, Leiden, 1965.

- Kan 1884 J.B. Kan, *Geschiedenis van het Erasmiaansch Gymnasium*, Rotterdam, <sup>2</sup>1884.
- Kernkamp/Fockema Andrae G.W. Kernkamp, J.P. Fockema Andrae e.a., *De Utrechtsche Universiteit 1636-1815*, 2 Bde., Utrecht, 1936.
- Knuttel W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de Pamfletten-Verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 8 Bde. und Registerband, 's-Gravenhage, 1889-1916.
- Knuvelde II G.P.M. Knuvelde, *Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandse Letterkunde*, deel II, 5e druk, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1971.
- Kok J. Kok, *Vaderlandsch Woordenboek*, 35 Teile in 18 Bänden, Amsterdam, 1785-1796.
- Kossmann 1915 E.F. Kossmann, *Nieuwe Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse toneel*, 's-Gravenhage, 1915.
- Kuiper 1959 E.J. Kuiper, *De Hollandse "Schoolorde" van 1625. Een studie over het onderwijs op de Latijnse scholen in Nederland in de 17de en 18de eeuw*, Groningen, 1959.
- Labrousse 1963/4 E. Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle*, 2 Bde., La Haye, 1963/4.
- van der Lanen S. van der Lanen, *Lyk-Rede over Psalm XXXIX 6, gedaan by gelegenheid van het Afsterven van den Eerwaarden, Godzaligen, zeer Geleerden Kornelis van Arkel, in zyn Eerw<sup>ds</sup> Leven Leeraar der Remonstranten te Rotterdam. Overleden den 29 in Herfstmaand 1724*, Rotterdam, 1724.
- Lankhorst 1983 O.S. Lankhorst, *Reinier Leers (1654-1714)*, uitgever & boekverkoper te Rotterdam, Amsterdam/Maarsse, 1983.
- Leiden University 1975 *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century. An Exchange of Learning*, ed. by Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer & G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes, Leiden, 1975.
- Lente 1902 W.J. Lente, *Het leven en werken van Johan Jakob Wettstein*, Leiden, 1902.
- Meijer 1971 Th.J. Meijer, *Kritiek als herwaardering. Het levenswerk van Jacob Perizonius (1651-1715)*, Leiden, 1971.
- Meter 1975 J.H. Meter, *De literaire theorieën van Daniel Heinsius*, Amsterdam, 1975.
- Müller 1869 L. Müller, *Geschichte der Klassischen Philologie in den Niederlanden. Mit einem Anhang über die lateinische Versification der Niederländer*, Leipzig, 1869.
- Muller 1863/82 F. Muller, *Beredeneerde beschrijving van Nederlandsche historieplaten, zinneprenten en historische kaarten*, 4 Bde., Amsterdam, 1863-1882.
- NBG *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 46 Bde., Paris, 1855-1866.
- NDB *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Berlin, 1953 ff.
- Nieuwenhuis 1970/1 J.G.B. Nieuwenhuis, *Catalogus van de handschriftenverzameling. Gemeentelijk Archiefdienst Rotterdam*, 2 Bde., Rotterdam, 1970/1.
- NNBW *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, onder redactie van P.C. Molhuysen, P.J. Blok en F.K.H. Kossmann, 10 Bde., Leiden, 1911-1937.

- Nolen 1886 Th. Nolen, *Iets over David van Hoogstraten en de letterkundige twisten van zijn tijd*, Rotterdam, 1886.
- Paquot J.N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des 17 provinces des Pays-Bas, de la Principauté de Liège et de quelques contrées voisines*, 3 Bde., Louvain, 1763-1770.
- Pfeiffer 1976 R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850*, Oxford, 1976.
- Pökel W. Pökel, *Philologisches Schriftsteller-Lexikon*, Leipzig, 1882.
- Price 1974 J.L. Price, *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic during the Seventeenth Century*, Lndon, 1974.
- Rademaker 1981 C.S.M. Rademaker, *Life and Work of Gerardus Ioannes Vossius (1577-1649)*, Assen, 1981.
- Roellenbleck 1975 G. Roellenbleck, *Das epische Lehrgedicht Italiens im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des Humanismus und der Renaissance*, München, 1975.
- Rogge 1869 *Catalogus van handschriften op de bibliotheek der Remonstrantsch-Gereformeerde Gemeente te Rotterdam* (door H. C. Rogge en P. A. Tiele), Amsterdam, 1869.
- Rotterdam Bibliopolis 1981 *Rotterdam Bibliopolis. Het Rotterdamse boek tussen 1680 en 1720. Tentoonstellings catalogus. Samengesteld door H. ten Boom, H. Bots, M. Evers en C. Zevenbergen*, Rotterdam, 1981.
- Sandys 1908 J.E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship, Vol. II: From the Revival of Learning to the Ende of the Eighteenth Century (in Italy, France, England, and the Netherlands)*, Cambridge, 1908.
- Saxius C. Saxius, *Onomasticon Literarium sive Nomenclator historico-criticus etc.*, 8 Bde., Utrecht, 1775-1803.
- Schneppen 1970 H. Schneppen, *Niederländische Universitäten und deutsches Geistesleben von der Gründung der Universität Leiden bis ins späte 18. Jahrhundert*, Münster, 2. Aufl., 1970.
- Schoengen 1911/25 M. Schoengen, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs in Nederland*, 12 Bde., Amsterdam, 1911-1925.
- Stache 1976 U.J. Stache, *Flavius Cresconius Corippus, In laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris. Ein Kommentar*, Berlin, 1976.
- den Tex J. den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt*, 5 Bde., Haarlem/Groningen, 1960-1972.
- Thieme/Becker *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart ...*, hrsg. von U. Thieme und F. Becker, 37 Bde., Leipzig 1907-1950.
- Thijssen-Schoute 1965 C.L. Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands Cartesianisme*, Amsterdam, 1965.
- Kan 1884 J.B. Kan, *Geschiedenis van het Erasmiaans Gymnasium*, 1954 (Verh. Kon. Ned. Ak. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. Deel LX).

- Thijssen-Schoute 1967 C.L. Thijssen-Schoute, *Uit de Republiek der Letteren. Elf studiën op het gebied der ideeëngeschiedenis van de gouden eeuw*, 's-Gravenhage, 1967.
- Tideman Jzn. 1897 B. Tideman Jzn., *Overzicht van de geschiedenis der Remonstranten*, Amsterdam o.J. (1897).
- Tideman 1871/2 J. Tideman, *De stichting der Remonstrantsche Broederschap, 1619-1634*, 2 Bde., Amsterdam, 1871/2.
- Tideman 1873 J. Tideman, *Het seminarium der Remonstranten te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1873.
- Tideman 1905 J. Tideman, *De Remonstrantsche Broederschap. Biographische naamlijst van hare professoren, predikanten en proponenten met historische aantekeningen omtrent hare kweekschool en gemeenten*. 2de druk ... bewerkt door H.C. Rogge en B. Tideman Jzn., Amsterdam, 1905.
- te Winkel J. te Winkel, *De ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche Letterkunde V: Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde van de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden III*, Utrecht/Leeuwarden, 1927 (2. Aufl. 1973).
- Zedler *Großes vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* ... Verlegt Johann Heinrich Zedler, 68. Bde., Leipzig/Halle, 1732-1750 (einschl. Supplementbände).

Hans VAN DE VENNE

CORNELIUS SCHONAEUS  
1541-1611  
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIS PRINTED WORKS  
IV

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

CONTRIBUTIONS AND POEMS BY SCHONAEUS TO  
BE FOUND IN WORKS OF OTHER AUTHORS\*

A

- 1 Schonaeus is one of the authors whose 'monimenta & lucubrationes'  
Cornelius Loosaeus Callidius consulted whilst composing his :

*SCOPÆ | LATINAE : | AD PVRGAN- | DAM LINGVAM A  
BARBA- | rie; quæ Latij fermonis proprietatem æmu- | lantibus,  
& elegantiam colentibus | obrêpit, vel infestat; | vtilifsimæ. | EX  
VARIIS PRISCORVM, ET | recentium Scriptis collectæ, &  
Alphabetica | connexione colligatæ, opera | Cornelij Loofæi, |  
Callidij. | Incumbens studijs doctos euolue libellos : | Et Latij*

\* In the following list some works of other authors have been enumerated, to which Schonaeus's poems and plays have made a contribution. The list is very probably not exhaustive and I should be extremely grateful for any additional information.

No attempt has been made to provide a complete census of copies of all the works listed.

Schonaeus's Latin verses that accompany many of the engravings of various renowned artists of his time, like Hendrick Goltzius, are excluded here. They can be found, however, for the greater (?) part in his *Liber Epigrammatum* from 1603 onwards (see above Bibliography, No. 30, pp. 256-316). Nevertheless I hope to give a conspectus of them in the future.

*linguae nobile iunge decus.* | [orn.] | MOGVNTIÆ, | *Typi*  
*iuuentricis.* | Apud Franciscum Behem, Anno | M. D. LXXXII.

*Collation :*

8° : A-N<sup>8</sup> O<sup>4</sup> [\$5 signed (–A1, O4,5; E4 signed ‘D4’)], 108 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1-216].

*Copy :*

Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 106.1.1 Rhet. (3)\*.

*Note :*

In his comments on the ‘Latin’ words and expressions he deals with in his above-mentioned book Loosaeus appears to cite, on sigs B4<sup>r</sup>, B5<sup>r-v</sup>, E8<sup>v</sup>, F7<sup>r</sup>, G1<sup>r</sup>, G5<sup>r</sup>, K3<sup>v</sup>, and O2<sup>r</sup>, verses from Schonaeus’s *Saulus Conversus*, *Naaman*, and *Tobaeus*.

- 2 One poem with heading ‘Cornelii Schonæi ad Iacobum Brafficam Hexastichon’ (6 ll.) on the title-page of :

MAIALE | DE CERTO | VITAE GENERE DE | LIGENDO,  
 IACOBI BRASSICÆ | ROTERODAMI, EX LOCO CICERONIS, | Lib.  
 de Officiis primo : *Imprimis constituen-* | *dum est, quos nos* & *quales esse velimus,* | & *in quo genere vitæ,* ad | Gerardum Filium. |  
 Cornelii Schonæi ad Iacobum Brafficam | Hexastichon. | *Dum*  
*natum formare paras, reliquamq<sub>3</sub> iuventam,* | *Rem literariam juvas,* |  
*Laudatumq<sub>3</sub> probas te sedulitate parentem,* | *Iuvá/q<sub>3</sub> multos Brassica* |  
*Præceptis juvenes; ex quo tibi splendida magni* | *Orietur aura*  
*nominis.* | [orn.] | HARLEMI, | Ex officina AEgidii Romanni, |  
 Sub Prælo aurato. | [rule] | M. D. XCVIII.

*Collation :*

8° : A<sup>8</sup> [\$4 signed (–A1)], 8 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1-16].

*Copies :*

Gouda, Librye, 1319B\*; London, BL, 616.d.1.(2)\*; The Hague, KB, 1703 C 55:3\*.

*Note :*

The poem by Schonaeus is also to be found, with one alteration (*Iuvá/q<sub>3</sub>* in the fourth line of the hexastich has been altered to *Forma/q<sub>3</sub>*), in his *Liber Epigrammatum* from 1603 onwards, with heading ‘Ad Iacobum Brafficam’ (see above Bibliography, No. 30, p. 315).

3 Three poems with headings 'SCONÆVS' (4 ll.), 'IDEM' (2 ll.), and 'SCONÆVS' (4 ll.) on pp. 16 and 77 of:

a CENTO | ETHICVS | *Ex varijs Poëtis hinc inde* | *contextus* |  
PER | DAMASVM BLYENBVRGIVM | BATAVVM. | Iuuentutis  
maximè institutioni | accommodatus. | [group of type orns] |  
LVGDVNI BATAVORVM, | Ex Officinâ Ludovici Elzevirij. |  
C IO. IO. IC.

Colophon, R4<sup>r</sup>: LVGDVNI BATAVORVM, | *Ex Typographeio*  
*Christophori Gujotij*. | ANNO CIO. IO. IC.

*Collation :*

8°: \*<sup>8</sup> A-Q<sup>8</sup> R<sup>4</sup> [\$5 signed (-\*1, P4, R4,5)], 140 leaves, pp. [16], 1-260 261-264 [misnumbering 43 as '45', 94 as '49', 139 as '138', 158 as '159', 173 as '573', 189 as '589'].

*Copies :*

Brussels, KB, V.H. 23.519 A LP\*; Cambridge, Queens', P350(3); Leyden, UB, 274 H 10\*; London, BL, 11408.aaa.58.(1) and 1213.h.7.(2) (title-leaf gathering missing); The Hague, KB, 1703 C 29\* and 1703 C 37:2\*; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Li Sammelband 56 (6)\*.

*The National Union Catalog. Pre-1956 Imprints: A cumulative author list representing Library of Congress printed cards and titles reported by other American libraries ...* (hereafter *NUC*), Volume 62 ([London and Chicago], 1969), p. 234, No. NB 0567610, lists 4 copies in American libraries.

*Notes :*

The above three poems by Schonaeus are also to be found in his *Liber Epigrammatum*. The first poem, which is quoted in its entirety, was first published at Haarlem in 1592 with heading 'DE COGNITIONE LIBERALIVM ARTIVM' (see above Bibliography, No. 16a, p. 450). However, from 1603 onwards it is printed twice in the book of Epigrams with headings 'DE COGNITIONE LIBERALIVM ARTIVM' and 'De liberalibus artibus' (see above Bibliography, No. 30, pp. 299 and 309-10). The other two poems, containing alterations and forming part of longer poems, were also first published at Haarlem in 1592 with headings 'IN POMPILIANVM' (4 ll.) (see above Bibliography, No. 16a, p. 462), from 1599 onwards altered to 'IN CÆCILIANVM' (see above Bibliography, No. 25, p. 275 [misnumbered '273']), and 'IN NÆVOLVM' (14 ll.) (see above Bibliography, No. 16a, pp. 456-57).

With headings 'Sconæus', '\* \* \*', and 'Sconæus' these same three poems occur on pp. 24 and 103 (misnumbered '87') of:

b CENTO | ETHICVS. | *Ex ducentis Poëtis hinc indè* | *contextus*, |  
PER | DAMASVM BLYENBVRGIVM, | BATAVVM. | Iuuentutis maximè

Institutioni | accommodatus. | EDITIO ALTERA, | Auctor &  
caftigator, cum INDICE Rerum | & Sententiarum locupletissimo. |  
[device] | DORDRACI, | Ex officina Abrahami Canini. |  
CIO. IO. C.

*Collation :*

8° : \*<sup>8</sup> A-2E<sup>8</sup> 2F<sup>2</sup> [\$2 signed (+ B3,4, C3,5, D3, E3,4, F3; - \*1, B2, D2, 2D1, 2F2)], 234 leaves, pp. irreg. [22], 1-250 256-428 429-451 [= 446] [misnumbering 48-9 as '64-5', 90 as '56', 103 as '87', 106 as '56', 184-85 as '186-83', 202 as '102', 251-423 as '256-428' and, within this misnumbered sequence, 305-06 [= 300-01] as '307-04', 309-10 [= 304-05] as '311-08', 313-14 [= 308-09] as '315-12', 317-18 [= 312-13] as '319-16', 392 [= 387] as '362', 395 [= 390] as '365'].

*Copies :*

Amsterdam, UB-GU, 438 F 25; Leyden, Thysiana, Thys. 1114\*; The Hague, KB, 1704 E 14\*; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, P 1426.8° Helmst.\* and 106.1 Poet. (1)\*.

The NUC, Volume 62 ([London and Chicago], 1969), p. 234, No. NB 0567611, lists 1 copy in American libraries.

- 4 Four poems with headings 'Ad Lycorim' (2 ll.), 'Ad Lædam' (18 ll.), 'Ad Lefbiam' (8 ll.), and 'In Gallam' (12 ll.) on pp. 141-42, 186-87, 191, and 202 of :

a VENERES | BLYENBVRGICÆ, | Sive | AMORVM HORTVS : |  
In | QVINQVE AREOLAS | *divifus*, | ☞ | Fragantiffimis [*sic*].  
cxlvij. celeberrimorum | Poetarum flosculis refertus, | [type orns] |  
OPERA | DAMASI BLYENBVRGY BATAVI.H.F. | DORDRACI | Ex  
Typographia Ifaaci Canini, | *impenfis Davidis Epifcopij* | An :  
CIO.IO.C.

*Collation :*

8° : \*<sup>8</sup> A-3O<sup>8</sup> [\$4 signed (+ A5, B5; - \*1,4, A1, D3,4, F4, (*var* : H4), P1, T4, 2A1, 2B4, 2F3, 2G4, 2Q1, 2Y1,4, 3C3, 3I4, 3K4; 2Q2 signed 'Q2')], 488 leaves, pp. irreg. [16], 1-223 224 [2] 225-227 229-366 367 [= 366] [2] 367-603 604 [2] 605-697 698-699 700-865 866-954 [misnumbering 182 as '172', 254 [= 253] as '154', 288 [= 287] as '286', 297 [= 296] as '267', 309 [= 308] as '319', 429 as '329', 432 as '332', (*var* : 524 as '490'), 577 as '576', 595 as '565', (*var* : 658 as '6 8', probably due to bad inking)].

*Copies :*

Amsterdam, UB-GU, 454 G 11 and OK 73-624; Brussels, KB, V.H. 23.520 A LP\* (2L5-2M1 and blank 308 missing) and II 93.203 A\* (gathering 2S misbound between gathering 1R and gathering 1S); Cambridge, UL, Hhh. 585; Edinburgh, NL, Rob.II.3.12; Groningen, UB, γ h 19; Leyden, Thysiana, Thys. 1090\*; London, BL, 1213.h.8 and G.17460; Paris, BN, Yc. 9260 and Yc. 8835



(part 4 only); Rotterdam, GB, 1418 G 1; The Hague, KB, 1703 C 37:1; Venray, private collection\*; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 101.11 Poet.\*

The *NUC*, Volume 62 ([London and Chicago], 1969), p. 234, No. NB 0567612, lists 8 copies in American libraries.

*Note :*

The four poems by Schonaeus mentioned above are already to be found in his *Liber Epigrammatum* from 1592 onwards (see above Bibliography, No. 16a, pp. 458, 452-53, 455, and 457-58).

b APICVLA BATAVA; | SIVE | HORTI AMORIS |  
MELLIFICIVM, | Ex fragrantissimis C. L. plus minus | optimorum  
ac praestantissimorum Aucto- | rum flosculis nuper a FLORILEGO |  
BATAVO [i.e. Damaso Blyenburgio] fummo studio indu- | striaque  
congestum. | [orn. or device] | AMSTELREDAMI, | [rule] | Apud  
Ioannem Ianssonium, Biblio- | polam in platea Vitulina. |  
c Io Io C XIII.

*Collation :*

See No. A 4a above. However, of the initial preliminary gathering, leaves \*2-\*5 are signed and only pages 1-3 are unnumbered.

*Copies :*

Amsterdam, UB-GU, 539 G 14; Leyden, UB, 187 F 29\* (gathering G and blank 308 missing); The Hague, KB, 849 C 13\*.

*Note :*

We are concerned here with a re-issue of the 1600 Dordrecht sheets (= No. A 4a), minus the original title-leaf gathering, of which only the dedication to Janus Dousa, Lord of Noordwijk, had been reset (with some minor alterations); the whole with a new title-page to bring the book up to date.

- 5 One poem with heading 'Cor. Schonæi Carmen ad Lectorem' (16 ll.) on sig. \*4<sup>r</sup> of:

ADRIANI | VANDERBVRCHII | PII LVSVS. | *In quibus*  
*OSCVLA & OCVLI, ac post | illos TRISTIA & FVNERA. |*  
*Auguſt: Lib. 7<sup>o</sup>. Confeß: cap. 20<sup>o</sup>. | Niſi viam Dei in Chriſto*  
*Saluatore meo quaererem, non peritus, | ſed PERITURUS eſſem. |*  
[Printer's device] | VLTRAIECTI | *Ex Officina Typographica*  
*Hermanni Borculoi, in interſignio | Cerui alati. Anno 1600.*

*Collation :*

4<sup>o</sup>: \*4 A-M4 [\$3 signed (-\*1, M3)], 52 leaves, ff. [29] 1-23.

*Copies :*

Ghent, UB, B.L. 1442; Utrecht, UB, X. qu. 67<sup>2</sup>; Venray, private collection\* (this is a presentation copy to Timan van Wou, Commander of the Knights of St John at Haarlem, with an inscription in the author's hand. In the poem by Schonaeus on sig. \*4<sup>r</sup> *omne* (the last word of the ninth line) has been altered to *illud* in ink by Schonaeus, himself a close friend of Timan van Wou); Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 55.3 Poet. (2)\*.

*Note :*

This poem is also to be found in Schonaeus's *Liber Epigrammatum* from 1603 onwards, with heading 'In libellos varios Hadriani van der Burch, Vltraiectini' (see above Bibliography, No. 30, pp. 307-08). It was, however, totally revised by the author and had, moreover, its number of lines increased to 18.

- 6 Twenty-nine poems with headings '*In Polycanthurum, carmen iocosum*' (126 ll.), '*Querimonia Fortunæ*' (90 ll.), '*Triftem sui temporis deplorat statum*' (130 ll.), '*In Diodorum*' (10 ll.), '*De Varo*' (12 ll.), '*Ad Marianum*' (2 ll.), '*In Scaeuolam*' (4 ll.), '*In Pontilianum*' (6 ll.), '*Ad Ponticum*' (6 ll.), '*Ad [sic] Adulterio Martis & Veneris*' (4 ll.), '*Ad Lædam*' (18 ll.), '*Ad Lesbiam*' (8 ll.), '*De Lesbia*' (6 ll.), '*In Gallam*' (12 ll.), '*Ad Lycorim*' (2 ll.), '*In Cæcilianum*' (4 ll.), '*Epigramma Cratetis*' (40 ll.), '*Aliud Metrodori, superiori diuersum*' (38 ll.), '*Ad Aulum de Cælio*' (6 ll.), '*Ad Marcellum*' (12 ll.), '*In Polycanthurum*' (16 ll.), '*In Diodorum*' (6 ll.), '*Ad Iudocum Vinckium*' (12 ll.), '*Epitaph. Gerardi Paemburgii*' (16 ll.), '*Ad Amicos*' (4 ll.), '*In Mameranum*' (6 ll.), '*De Cognitione Liberalium artium*' (4 ll.), '*In Næuium*' (8 ll.), '*In Pontilianum*' (4 ll.) on pp. 68-87 of :

DELITIÆ | C. POETARVM BEL- | GICORVM, HVIVS SV- |  
 PERIORISQVE ÆVI | illustrium, | *QVARTA PARS.* | *Collectore* |  
 RANVTIO GHERO. [i.e. Iano Gruthero] | [Printer's device] |  
 FRANCOFVRTI, | Typis Nicolai Hoffmanni, Sumptibus | Iacobi  
 Fißcheri. | [rule] | *ANNO M. DC. XIV.*

*Collation :*

16°: (?)<sup>2</sup> A-2N<sup>8</sup> 2O<sup>2</sup> 2P<sup>4</sup> 2Q<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (-(?)1,3,4,5, 2O3,4,5, 2P5, 2Q5; F1 signed 'F3', F3 signed 'F5', 2C3 signed '2C5')], 304 leaves, pp. [4], 1-578 579-604 [misnumbering 51 as '5', 108 as '208', 300 as '00', 380 as '580', 435 as '335', 499 as '489', 556 as '56', 569 as '589'].

*Copies :*

Amsterdam, UB-GU, 1718 H 4; Amsterdam, UB-VU, XH. 05562; Brussels, KB, V.H. 23.419 A LP\*; Edinburgh, NL, H.26.h; Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, 1.NN.X.20 (title-leaf missing); Ghent, UB, B.L. 1372; Leuven, UB-KUL,

RA 13\*; Leipzig, UB, Poet.lat.rec. 180; Leyden, UB, 561 G 16\*; London, BL, 238.i.11 and G.9598; Modena, Biblioteca Universitaria, I.D.13.29; Paris, BN, Rés. p. Yc. 1188; Rotterdam, GB, 50 E 20; The Hague, KB, 849 D 29; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 227. Poet.\*

The *NUC*, Volume 221 ([London and Chicago], 1972), p. 60, No. NG 0558968, lists 8 copies in American libraries.

#### Notes :

The first three poems are selected from Schonaeus's *Liber Elegiarum*, whereas the other twenty-six originate from his *Liber Epigrammatum*. They are all already to be found in the 1592 Haarlem edition of Schonaeus's plays and poems (see above Bibliography, No. 16a, pp. 398-406, 437-41, 445-47, 452-53, 455, 457-58, 462-65, 467, 471-72, 476, 478, 480, 482, 490, and 493) which, however, represents the author's first version. In later editions, containing the books of elegies and epigrams, some poems have new headings and new readings, and a smaller number of lines, which are the author's revisions of the first version.

One poem with heading 'SCHOONÆVS EX D. HIERONIMO' (2 ll.) on p. 107 of :

(engraved title-page with the title on the face of the central pedestal, A1<sup>r</sup> :) Sinne-Beelden, | eertyts Minne-beelden, | nu ghetoghen | tot | Stichtelijcke bedinckingen | *EMBLEMATA*, | antè quidem Amatoria, nunc verò | in | Sacras Meditationes | transfusa. | EMBLEMES, | des Vanités Amoureuses, traduits | aux | Meditations Chrestiennes. | [On the left :] A.Venne inve 1618. [On the right :] F.Schillemans sculp. | [In the bottom left hand corner :] O lumen! o Nûmen! [In the bottom right hand corner :] Ne Procumbat hûmi. | [In the centre of the bottom, variant state :] 1 Corinth. 13.11. | Cùm puer effem, loquëbar, sapiebam, cogitabam vt puer; | At, vir cùm factûs fim, puerile omne depofûi.

(printed title-page, A2<sup>r</sup> :) SILENI | ALCIBIADIS, | SIVE | PROTEOS, | PARS TERTIA. | [orn.] | MIDDELBVRGI, | [rule] | Ex Officina Iohannis Hellenij, | M. DC. XVIII. | Cum Privilegio.

#### Collation :

4° : A-O<sup>4</sup> [\$4 signed (-A1,2, (var : A4), O4; (var : B4 signed 'A4'), M2 signed 'M3')], 56 leaves, pp. 1-3 4-107 108-112.

#### Copies :

Amsterdam, UB-GU, 2003 E 6; Leyden, MNL (in the UB), 1018 C 1\*, 1018 D 26, 1019 C 23\*, and Hotz 5268; London, BL, 831.i.17; Paris, BN, Yi. 377; The Hague, KB, 144 D 2 and 477 C 37\*.

The *NUC*, Volume 100 ([London and Chicago], 1970), p. 162, No. NC 0232148, lists 5 copies in American libraries.

*Notes :*

The distich by Schonaeus is already to be found (with one different reading in the second line: *extremi* instead of *æterni*) in his *Liber Epigrammatum* from 1603 onwards, with heading 'Dictum D. Hieronymi' (see above Bibliography, No. 30, p. 309).

A description of the three-part 1618 *Silenus Alcibiadis, sive Proteus* by Jacob Cats can be found in W.C.M. de Jonge van Ellemeet, *Museum Catsianum. 1837-1887*, second enlarged edition (The Hague, 1887), pp. 4-5<sup>a</sup>, No. 27, and in A.G.C. de Vries, *De Nederlandsche emblemata: Geschiedenis en bibliographie tot de 18<sup>e</sup> eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1899; reprint Utrecht, 1976), pp. L-LII, Nos 78-79. See also John Landwehr, *Dutch Emblem Books: A Bibliography* (Utrecht, [1962]) [= *Bibliotheca emblematica* 1], p. 12, Nos 43a-43b, and id., *Emblem Books in the Low Countries 1554-1949: A Bibliography* (Utrecht, [1970]) [= *Bibliotheca emblematica* 3], Nos 80-81.

No attempt has been made to trace the distich by Schonaeus in later editions of the above work by Cats, nor in his *Proteus ofte Minne-beelden Verandert in Sinne-beelden*, nor in his collected works. For these the reader is referred to the above-mentioned reference books.

- 8 Two poems with headings 'CORNELII SCHONÆI GOVDANI IN POLYCANTHARVM Carmen jocosum' (126 ll.) and 'Eiusdem in Polycantharum' (16 ll.) on pp. 49<sup>b</sup> [*var*: misnumbered '47']–50<sup>b</sup> of:

a AMPHITHEATRI | SAPIENTIÆ | SOCRATICÆ IOCO-  
SERIÆ | TOMVS POSTERIOR | RERVVM PRO DAMNOSIS |  
habitarum encomia & commenta- | ria continens. |  
RECENSENTE | CASPARE DORNAVIO | Philof. & Medico. |  
[Printer's device] | Cum gratia & priuilegio S. Cæsareæ Majestatis. |  
HANOVIAE, | Typis Wecheliani, Impensis Danielis & Davidis |  
Aubriorum, & Clementis Schleichij. | [rule] | Anno M. DC. XIX.

*Collation :*

2°: a-2b<sup>6</sup> 2c<sup>4</sup> [\$4 signed (–a1, u4, 2c3,4; a2 signed 'a3', q3 signed 'p3')], 154 leaves, pp. 1-3 4-305 306-308 [misnumbering 4 as '2', 41 as '47', (*var*: 49 as '47'), 110 as '100', 136 as '140', 141 as '143', 185-86 as '184-85', 193 as '19', 200 as '210', 233-36 as '223-26', 243 as '245', 250 as '248', 253-54 as '245-46', 259 as '256', 277 as '289'].

*Copies :*

Amsterdam, UB-GU, 508 A 15; Amsterdam, UB-VU, not yet catalogued; Brussels, KB, V.H. 12.686 C 2\*; Göttingen, NSUB, 2° Satir. I,133; Groningen, UB, η i 6; Leyden, UB, 355 A 15\* (n6-p1 missing); London, BL, 88.1.1; Paris, BN, Fol. Z. 1042; Rotterdam, GB, 3 B 5; The Hague, KB, 252 A 48\*; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, P 506.F° Helmst. (2)\*.

The *NUC*, Volume 147 ([London and Chicago], 1971), p. 262, No. ND 0341015, lists 12 copies in American libraries.

*Notes :*

The two poems by Schonaeus mentioned above are already to be found in his *Liber Elegiarum* and *Liber Epigrammatum* from 1592 onwards, with headings 'IN POLYCANTHARVM, CARMEN IOCOSVM' (138 ll.) and 'IN POLYCANTHARVM' (16 ll.) (see above Bibliography, No. 16a, pp. 398-402 and 476). From 1599 onwards (see above Bibliography, No. 25, pp. 222-25) the first poem has, besides some new readings, its number of lines reduced from 138 to 126 (see also the notes to No. A 6 above).

b AMPHITHEATRI | SAPIENTIAE SO- | CRATICÆ | JOCO-  
SERIÆ, | TOMUS POSTERIOR, | RERUM PRO DAMNOSIS |  
habitarum encomia & commentaria | continens. | *RECENSENTE* |  
CASPARE DORNAVIO, | PHILOSOPHO & MEDICO. | [orn.  
or device] | FRANCOFVRTI ad MOENVM, | Apud Jacobum  
Godofredum Seyler. | [rule] | *M. DC. LXX.*

*Collation :*

See No. A 8a above.

*Copies :*

Leuven, BTF, F° 1 I 8\*.

The *NUC*, Volume 147 ([London and Chicago], 1971), p. 262, No. ND 0341016, lists 1 copy in American libraries.

*Note :*

We are concerned here with a re-issue of the 1619 Hanau sheets (= No. A 8a) with a cancellans title-leaf substituted for the original.

## APPENDIX II

TRANSLATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS OF PLAYS BY  
SCHONAEUS\*

## I

## MANUSCRIPTS

## AA ENGLISH

*Naaman*

- 1 Stonyhurst, College Library, MS A. VI. 33, ff. 175<sup>r</sup>-90<sup>v</sup><sup>1</sup>.
- 2 Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson (hereafter Rawl.) D. 1388, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-90<sup>r</sup><sup>2</sup>.

*Tobaeus*

- 3 Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. D. 1388, ff. 91<sup>r</sup>-221<sup>r</sup>.

*Nehemias*

- 4 Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. D. 1388, ff. 222<sup>r</sup>-327<sup>r</sup>.

*Saulus*

- 5 Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. D. 1389, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-114<sup>r</sup>.

*Iosephus*

- 6 Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. D. 1389, ff. 115<sup>r</sup>-250<sup>r</sup>.

\* The following list is very probably also not exhaustive. Any indication of supplementary material would therefore be very welcome.

<sup>1</sup> For a description of the Stonyhurst manuscript and a transcription of the pageant of *Naaman*, see *The Stonyhurst Pageants*, edited with Introduction by Carleton Brown (Göttingen, 1920) [= *Hesperia*, Ergänzungsreihe 7. Heft], pp. 7\*-30\* and 263-302. See also Hardin Craig, 'Terentius Christianus and the Stonyhurst Pageants', *Philological Quarterly*, 2 (1923), 56-62.

<sup>2</sup> For a description of the Rawlinson manuscripts D. 1388-91, see Gulielmus D. Macray, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae partis quintae fasciculus quartus, viri munificentissimi Ricardi Rawlinson, I.C.D., codicum classis quartae partem alteram (libros sc. miscellaneos sexcentos et quinquaginta sex) complectens* (Oxford, 1898), cols 458-59. See also Lily B. Campbell, *Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1959; reprint Cambridge-Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961), pp. 165-66, and Alfred Harbage, *Annals of English Drama 975-1700: An Analytical Record of All Plays, Extant or Lost, Chronologically Arranged and Indexed by Authors, Titles, Dramatic Companies, &c.*, revised by S. Schoenbaum (London, [1964]), p. 202<sup>a</sup>.

*Iuditha*

- 7 Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 350 A (Hengwrt 508), pp. 3-9<sup>3</sup>.
- 8 Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. D. 1389, ff. 251<sup>r</sup>-379<sup>r</sup>.

*Pseudostratigotae*

- 9 Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. poet. 193, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>r</sup><sup>4</sup>.

## BB GERMAN

*Saulus (Conversus)*

- 1 Annaberg?<sup>5</sup>.

*Triumphus Christi*

- 2 Dresden, SLB, Mscr. Dresd. M 261, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-113<sup>r</sup><sup>6</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> For a transcription of this piece of translation (containing the title and the names of the *dramatis personae*, the prologue, the argument, and a section of the first scene of the first act) and a description of the manuscript, see Gwen Ann Jones, 'A Play of Judith', *Modern Language Notes*, 32 (1917), 1-6. Cf. Edna Purdie, *The Story of Judith in German and English Literature* (Paris, 1927) [= *Bibliothèque de la revue de littérature comparée* 39], pp. 7-8, No. 26.

<sup>4</sup> For this fragment (containing the title, the names of the actors, the prologue, the first act, and the first scene of the second act), its author (John Williams), and a description of the manuscript, see Falconer Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford ...*, Volume III, (*Collections received during the 18th Century*) (Oxford, 1895; reprint Munich, [1980]), p. 326, Nos 14683-85.

<sup>5</sup> A German play *Saul*, translated or adapted from Schonaeus's *Saulus Conversus* and brought upon the stage at Annaberg on 17 February 1583, is mentioned by Karl Goedeke in his *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen*, Volume II, *Das Reformationszeitalter*, second completely revised edition (Dresden, 1886; reprint Nendeln, 1975), pp. 366-67, § 147, 183, with a reference to Gottsched (hereafter referred to as Goedeke, *Grundriss*). See, however, the Baron James de Rothschild, *Le Mystère du viel testament*, Volume IV (Paris, 1882), p. xxvj, No. 4.

<sup>6</sup> For a(n incomplete) transcription of the title of this 1606 rhymed translation by Elias Gerlach from Colditz and some details about the manuscript, see the *Katalog der Handschriften der königl. öffentlichen Bibliothek* (afterwards: *Sächsischen Landesbibliothek*) zu Dresden, Volume II, compiled by Franz Schnorr von Carolsfeld (Leipzig, 1883), p. 513, No. M 261.

The manuscript contains the title (f. 1<sup>r</sup>), a dedication to August, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, and Margrave in Meissen, in Latin (in an Italian hand) on each verso of leaves 1-7 and in German (in a national hand) on each recto of leaves 2-8, dated at Dresden on 17 April 1606, and signed by Elias Gerlach. The verso of leaf 8 is blank, followed by two blank leaves, which are not foliated. The following leaf, of which the recto is blank, is foliated with numeral 9. The German translation is written stichically in a national hand on the verso of leaves 9-112, whereas the Latin text is written stichically in an Italian hand on the recto of leaves 10-113 (description from microfilm).

*Naaman*

- 3 Breslau (nowadays Wrocław), currently lost?<sup>7</sup>.

*Iosephus*

- 4 Berlin (FRG), Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Germ. Fol. 700, ff. 79<sup>r</sup>-107<sup>v</sup><sup>8</sup>.

*Baptistes*

- 5 Berlin (FRG), Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Germ. Fol. 700, ff. 133<sup>r</sup>-55<sup>r</sup><sup>9</sup>.

## CC SWEDISH

*Vitulus*

- 1 Linköping, SLB, W 64, pp. 1-98<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> This 1648 German (manuscript?) translation of Schonaeus's *Naaman* by E. Major in Breslau (Wrocław) is mentioned, as lost, by Alexander von Weilen in his article 'Schonaeus: Cornelius S.', in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (hereafter *ADB*), XXXIV (Leipzig, 1892; reprint Berlin, 1971), pp. 731-33 (p. 733).

<sup>8</sup> The manuscript is briefly described in Hermann Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek*, Volume I, *Die Handschriften in Folioformat* (Leipzig, 1925; reprint Graz, 1970) [= *Mitteilungen aus der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek* 7], p. 77<sup>b</sup> (hereinafter referred to as Degering).

According to Ruprecht Wimmer, 'Grimmelshausens *Joseph* und sein unverhofftes Weiterleben', *Daphnis*, 5 (1976), 369-413 (pp. 397-400 and 408), the composer of this *Historie von dem keuschen Jüngling Joseph in einer Comoedie vorgestellt* has made use of Schonaeus's *Iosephus*, especially in the first two 'Abhandlungen' (acts).

<sup>9</sup> See Degering (footnote 8 above), p. 77<sup>b</sup>.

This *TRAGICO = COMOEDIA von Iohañe dem Taüffer* is, so far as I have observed, up to the middle of f. 154<sup>r</sup> a translation of Schonaeus's *Baptistes*, a *sacra, et nova tragicocomoedia*.

<sup>10</sup> The transcription of the title reads: [in a national hand] VITULUS | Thet är | Een lustigh Fabula om en | bonde benämdh Coræbus, som | bleff bort såld för en kalf, | Comædiæwijs stält på latijn | aff Cornelio Schonaeo och | nu på swänska ver = | terat af | Christophro [sic] Moræo | Scholæ Nijcopensis | ConRectore.

The text of this *lustigh Fabula* is to be found on pp. 1-94, followed on p. 95 by *Copia af det bref som är komit neder af himmelen så lijddandes*, dated on p. 98: 'Datum Mechelborg [d]ie 10 Maij Año 1685' (description from photocopies).

For the printed transcription of Moræus's play by P. Hanselli in 1877, and a brief introduction, see below No. II 1.



## II

## PRINTED EDITIONS

## DD GERMAN

*Tobaeus*

- 1 [in roman and gothic type, in red and black] TOBÆVS | Das ist : | Eine schöne nütz = | liche vnd Biblische Comœdia/ | von dem heiligen vnd Gottfürchtigen | Manne Tobæo : Erstlich Terentiano | Stylo Lateinisch beschrieben/ durch | CORNELIVM SCHONAEVM | Goudanum Gymnafiarcham Scho- | læ Harlemenfis. | Jtzo aber in Teutsche Rythmos vertiert | vnd mit wenigem vermehret/durch den | Edlen vnd Ehrnuesten | Barthold von Gadenstedt. | [orn.] | Gedruckt zu Magdeburgk/ Durch Jo = | han : Bötcher/ Jn verlegung Am = | brosiß Kirchners. | Jm Jar nach Christi Geburt | 1605.

*Collation :*

8° : A-O<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (– A1 ; E4 signed ‘E3’)], 112 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1-224].

*Copies :*

Weimar, ZB, 0,9:176; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Li 8065.1\*.

*Notes :*

The ‘Vorrede’ (preface) by Barthold von Gadenstedt is dated on sig. A6<sup>v</sup> : ‘Gegeben zu Wernigeroda den Sontag Quasimodogeniti, war der 7. Aprilis Anno 1605’ (Wernigerode, Quasimodo Sunday, 7 April 1605).

The edition is listed in Goedeke, *Grundriss* (footnote 5 above), Volume II, pp. 373-74, § 147, 227.

For a reproduction of the title-page of this edition, see Martin Bircher, *Deutsche Drucke des Barock 1600-1720 in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. Abteilung B · Mittlere Aufstellung. Band 1 · Literatur 1 : A-N* (Millwood-London-Nendeln, [1982]), pp. 122-23, No. B 371.

*Triumphus Christi*

- 2 [in roman and gothic type, in red and black] TRIVMPHVS CHRISTI, | Das ist : | Die Historia vō | dem herrlichen Triumph vnnd | Sieg der Hochtröstlichen vnd Heylwär = | tigen Aufferstehung vnsers Herrn vnnd Heylan = | des Jesu Christi/ aus den Heyligen Euangelisten zu = | sammen gezogen/vnd in ein schöne anmütige Lateinische |

Comœdi vnnd Spiel verfasst durch den Hochgelehrten | Herrn Cornelium  
 Schönæum Goudanum, Gymnasiar- | chen der Schulen zu Harlem  
 in | Niederlanden. | Jetzund aber auß dem Latein in Teutsche | vnnd  
 verständliche Reymen auffß aller fleissigest | vnd getrewlichst/ fast  
 von Wort zu Wort/ so viel | jmmer müglich gewesen/ | verfasst |  
 Durch | Balthasarn Schnurrn von Lendsidel Pfarrhern | zu Amlis hagen.  
 | Getruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn/ durch | Johan Saur im Jahr |  
 [rule] | M. D C. VII.

*Collation :*

8°: A-1<sup>8</sup> K<sup>4</sup> [\$5 signed (– A1, K4,5)], 76 leaves, pp. 1 2-151 152.

*Copy :*

Leipzig, UB, Poet.lat.rec. 438<sup>b\*</sup>.

*Notes :*

The preface by Balthasar Schnurr to his patrons is dated on p. 16: 'Datum Franckfurt am Mayn, in Johann Saur Typographi Behausung den 17. Septembris, Anno 1606' (Frankfurt-am-Main, in Johannes Sau(e)r's printing house, 17 September 1606). From his preface to the *Pseudostratitotae* (see No. DD 3 below), which also bears the date of 17 September 1606, it appears that this translation of the *Triumphus Christi* takes precedence in date of composition.

As far as I know, Schnurr did not carry out his plan, expressed in the preface to his plays, to translate also the remaining nine plays of Schonaeus's *Terentius Christianus* into German<sup>11</sup>.

Schnurr's *Triumphus Christi* ends on p. 130 and is followed by poems, for the greater part by Fortunatus and Johann Spangenberg, which he personally translated from the Latin into rhymed German verse (pp. 131-51).

The edition is listed in Goedeke, *Grundriss* (footnote 5 above), Volume II, p. 511, § 164, II, 8.

<sup>11</sup> See Schnurr's *Triumphus Christi*, p. 14 and *Pseudostratitotae*, p. 4. In the preface (or dedication) to the *Triumphus Christi* he declares knowledge of editions of Schonaeus's plays printed at Antwerp, Cologne, and Wittenberg (the latter two with imperial and Saxon privileges) (p. 12). From another place in this preface (p. 14) it appears that for his German versions of Schonaeus's plays, Schnurr is likely to have made use of a copy of the 1599 Wittenberg edition of the second part of Schonaeus's *Terentius Christianus* (see above Bibliography, No. 26b). Including the first part (see above Bibliography, No. 24d), the 1599 Wittenberg *Terentius Christianus* contained twelve plays, of which three have now been translated into German (see Nos DD 1 and DD 2 above, and DD 3 below).

*Pseudostratitotae*

- 3 [in roman and gothic type, in black and red] PSEVDOSTRATIOTÆ, |  
Das ist: | Die vermeinten Landtsknecht. | Eine sehr lustige/ |  
artige/kurtzweylige vnd zu Ehr= | licher Frewd vnd Ergetzlichkeit  
dienen= | de Comœdi vnnd Faß nachtSpiel. Erstlich in | Latein  
beschrieben durch den Hochgelehrten/ vnd weit= | berühmten Herrn  
Cornelium Schönæum Goudanum | Gymnasiarchen der berühmten  
Schul zu | Harlem in Nider= | landen. | Jetzund aber auff Bitt  
ehrlicher Leut | in Teutsche vnd verständliche Reymen | auffß  
fleissigst vnd trewlichst ver= | fasset/ | Durch | Balthasarn Schnurr  
von Lendsidel/✠. | [group of type orns] | Getruckt zu Franckfurt  
am Mayn durch | Johaṇ Saur/im Jahr | [rule] | M. D C. VII.

*Collation:*

8°: A-F<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (–A1)], 48 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-96.

*Copies:*

Leipzig, UB, BST 8° 638; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 394.74 Quodl. (9)\*.

*Notes:*

The preface by Balthasar Schnurr is dated on p. 6: 'Datum Franckfurt am Mayn, Jn Johann Sauren Bürgers und Buchtruckers daselbsten Behausung, den 17. Septembris Anno O IesV Dona paCeM' (Frankfurt-am-Main, in Johannes Sau(e)r's printing house, 17 September 1606). See also the notes to the *Triumphus Christi* in No. DD 2 above.

The edition is listed in Goedeke, *Grundriss* (footnote 5 above), Volume II, p. 511, § 164, II, 9.

The German versions of Schonaeus's *Cunae* and *Vitulus*, which Schnurr in the 'Nota' (p. 7) to his *Pseudostratitotae* announced as 'following soon', never appeared in print to my knowledge.

The traces of (Schonaeus's (?) and) Schnurr's *Pseudostratitotae* can also be found in Johann Rist's *Irenaromachia Das ist eine neue Tragico-comaedia von Fried und Krieg* (1630) and in Erasmus Pfeiffer's *Pseudostratitotae, Ein Teutsches Spiel unartiger Lediggenger, ...* (1631), for which the reader is referred to the works cited in the footnote<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> See Karl Theodor Gaedertz, 'Johann Rist als niederdeutscher Dramatiker', in *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung. Jahrgang 1881*, 7 (Norden and Leipzig, 1882), pp. 101-72, and Johannes Bolte, 'Rists Irenaromachia und Pfeiffers Pseudostratitotae', in *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung. Jahrgang 1885*, 11 (Norden and Leipzig, 1886), pp. 157-67.

For a survey and description of the 1630-1651 editions of Rist's *Irenaromachia*, see Gerhard Dünnhaupt, *Bibliographisches Handbuch der Barockliteratur: Hundert Personal-*

*Vitulus*

- 4 [in gothic and roman type, within a wood-cut compartment] Zwo  
Newe Lustige vnd | Kurtzweilige | Bawr Comæ = | dien/ | Die eine  
genandt VITULUS. | Die Ander SCRIBA. | Agiret in Faß nachten  
zu Ham = | burgk. | Zum Leser. | Mein Freund laß es dich irren nicht |  
Das in diesn Båwrischen gedicht | Kein Fues noch Versen obfervirt, |  
Wie sichs dan hette wol gebürt/ | Die Bawrn nicht nach dem Metro |  
fragen/ | Weñsi e [sic] nur können Reimen sagen | ANNO 1616.

*Collation :*

8° : A-E<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (- A1,2)], 40 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1-80].

*Copy :*

Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Lo 272\* (E8 missing, blank?).

*Notes :*

The text of the peasant farce *Vitulus*, a free translation of Schonaeus's *Vitulus*, is printed on sigs A2<sup>r</sup>-C8<sup>v</sup>.

The edition is listed in Borchling-Claussen (footnote 12 above), col. 1296, as No. 3046.

For a reproduction of the title-page of this edition, see Martin Bircher, *Deutsche Drucke des Barock 1600-1720 in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. Abteilung B · Mittlere Aufstellung. Band 2 · Literatur 2 : O-Z, Sprachwissenschaft, Kunst* (Millwood-London-Nendeln, [1982]), p. 489, No. B 1499.

A new edition of the play can be found in J. Bolte and W. Seelmann, *Niederdeutsche Schauspiele älterer Zeit* (Norden and Leipzig, 1895) [= *Drucke des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* 4], pp. 23-60, with an introduction (pp. \*23-\*30) and notes (pp. 152-54) (hereinafter referred to as Bolte-Seelmann).

*bibliographien deutscher Autoren des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, Dritter Teil : R-Z* (Stuttgart, 1981) [= *Hiersemann's Bibliographical Handbooks* Volume 2.III], pp. 1559-60, No. 3.

A modern critical edition of Rist's play can be found in *Johann Rist : Sämtliche Werke*, edited by Eberhard Mannack, with the co-operation of Helga Mannack, Volume I, *Dramatische Dichtungen (Irenaromachia. Perseus)* (Berlin, 1967) [= *Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts* 3], pp. 1-115 and 283-87 ('Nachwort').

Pfeiffer's *Pseudostratitotae* can be found in *Sophoclis Ajax Lorarius seu tragica comaedia de Ajacis Telamonii ... furore, ...* (N.p., 1631), listed in Conrad Borchling and Bruno Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie : Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800*, Volume II, 1601-1800. *Nachträge, Ergänzungen, Verbesserungen, Register* (Neumünster, 1931-36; reprint Utrecht, 1976), col. 1357, as No. 3218 (hereinafter referred to as Borchling-Claussen).

## EE DUTCH

*Vitulus*

- 1 [in roman, italic, and gothic type] Lacchelicke | CLVCHTE, | *Van een Boer die in een Calfs-vel | benaeyt vvas.* | [Copper engraving depicting the blazon of the Amsterdam Chamber of Rhetoric 'Brabantsche tot | AMSTERDAM', with the motto 'Vijt leuen der Junst.')] | t'Amstelredam/ By Broer Jansz.

*Collation :*

8° : A-B<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (-A1)], 16 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1-32].

*Copy :*

Leyden, MNL (in the UB), 1097 F 48\*.

*Notes :*

The text of the farce of the peasant sewed up in a calfskin ends on sig. B7<sup>v</sup> and is followed by a *Refereyn van een turf-boer in't sotte* (sig. B8<sup>r-v</sup>). The author of both the farce and the *refereyn* is not known, as he does not give his name but signs in both cases with his motto 'Niet te hooch' ('Not too high') only. This motto was generally connected with the name of Hubert van der Meers from the time that Witsen Geysbeek stated that he was the author of the farce printed in 1646<sup>13</sup>. The problem, however, is that this cannot possibly be correct.

Although it has been a matter of dispute<sup>14</sup>, there seems to be a consensus

<sup>13</sup> See P. G. Witsen Geysbeek, *Biographisch anthologisch en critisch woordenboek der Nederduitsche dichters*, Volume IV (Amsterdam, 1823), p. 393. It seems likely, however, that Witsen Geysbeek is not referring to this undated Amsterdam edition of the farce but to that listed below under No. EE 3. Cf. J. I. van Doorninck, *Vermomde en naamlooze schrijvers opgespoord op het gebied der Nederlandsche en Vlaamsche letteren. Tweede uitgave der »Bibliotheek van Anonymen en Pseudonymen»*, 2 vols (Leyden, 1883-85; reprint Amsterdam, 1970), I, *Schuilnamen en naamletters*, col. 430 (hereinafter referred to as Van Doorninck); *Catalogus der bibliotheek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche letterkunde te Leiden*, 3 vols (Leyden, 1887-89), II (1887), p. XL<sup>a</sup>, No. 944; and A. de Kempenaer, *Vermomde Nederlandsche en Vlaamsche schrijvers : Vervolg op Mr. J. I. van Doorninck's vermomde en naamlooze schrijvers, opgespoord op het gebied der Nederlandsche en Vlaamsche letteren* (Leyden, [1928]; reprint Amsterdam, 1970), col. 613. See, however, also J. van Vloten, *Het Nederlandsche kluchtspel van de 14<sup>e</sup> tot de 18<sup>e</sup> eeuw*, second enlarged edition, 3 vols (Haarlem, [1878]-81), II [1880], *De zeventiende eeuw*, 26.

<sup>14</sup> See A. H. Garrer, 'Een Hollandsche klucht in Latijnsch gewaad', *De Nederlandsche spectator*. 1881, no. 28 (9 July 1881), 244<sup>a</sup>-45<sup>b</sup>; id., *Schonaeus : Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Latijnsche school te Haarlem ...* (Haarlem, 1889), pp. 65-67; Bolte-Seelmann (see the notes to No. DD 4 above), pp. \*25-\*29; J. A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van het drama en van het tooneel in Nederland*, 2 vols (Groningen, 1904-08; reprint Rotterdam, [1970]), I, 221, 448, and II, 118; J. te Winkel, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde van de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden*, Volume I (Haarlem, 1923) [= *De ontwikkelings-*

now that the *Lacchelicke cluchte* is an adaptation (from about 1615?) of the *Vitulus* by Schonaeus, which unquestionably takes precedence in date of publication<sup>15</sup>.

*gang der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, second edition, Volume III (Haarlem, 1923; reprint Utrecht and Leeuwarden, 1973)], p. 256; A.A. van Rijnbach, *De kluchten van Gerbrand Adriaensz. Bredero* (Amsterdam, 1926), pp. XXIII-XXV; Herman Meijling, *Esbatementen van de Rode Lelie te Brouwershaven* (Groningen, 1946), pp. III-IV; and C. Kruijskamp, 'De spelen van de Rode Lelie', *Jaarboek De Fonteyne 1946-47* (Antwerp, 1948), pp. 27-34 (p. 29).

<sup>15</sup> The *Vitulus* of Schonaeus was printed, together with his *Cunae*, by Gillis Rومان at Haarlem in 1596 (see above Bibliography, No. 21), whereas Broer Jansz., the printer (or publisher) of the *Lacchelicke cluchte*, started his career as a printer and publisher at Amsterdam in 1604 (see *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17<sup>e</sup> eeuw: Biographische en geschiedkundige aantekeningen*, compiled by M.M. Kleerkooper, enlarged and edited by W.P. van Stockum Jr., 2 vols (The Hague, 1914-16) [= *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen boekhandel* 10], I, 322-26 and 1619-20; II, 1306-12 and 1492-93; cf. also J.A. Gruys and C. de Wolf, *Typographi & bibliopolae Neerlandici usque ad annum MDCC. Thesaurus. Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkoopers tot 1700 met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid* (Nieuwkoop, 1980) [= *Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica* 13], pp. 51 and 108<sup>b</sup> (hereinafter referred to as Gruys-De Wolf, *Thesaurus*).

The blazon on the title-page of the *Lacchelicke Cluchte* is that of the Brabant Chamber of Rhetoric 'De witte Lavender' or 'Het Wit Lavendel' ('The White Lavender') of Amsterdam. It was presented for the first time at Haarlem in October 1606 on the occasion of the so-called *Landjewel* (see above Bibliography, No. 34a, notes) and is to be found on sig. 211' of the *Const-thoonende Iuweel* printed by Zacharias Heyns at Zwolle in 1607. See Moes-Burger, IV, pp. 257-59 and C.P. Burger Jr., 'De rebus van onze oude rederijkers', *Het Boek*, 14 (1925), 145-92 (pp. 163-65).

J.A. Worp in his *Geschiedenis van den Amsterdamschen schouwburg 1496-1772*, edited with a supplement to 1872 by J.F.M. Sterck (Amsterdam, 1920), p. 27, places the performance of the *Lacchelicke cluchte* by 'The White Lavender' in about 1615 (?), without giving his source of evidence for this. See, however, also P.H. van Moerkerken, *Het Nederlandsch kluchtspel in de 17de eeuw*, 2 vols (Sneek, [1899]), II, 599, Aant. (note) 8, where the farce is dated between 1605 and 1608, and A.A. van Rijnbach who, in his thesis (footnote 14 above), pp. XXIII-XXIV, dates the play at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but not later than c. 1610.

In his recent study of the Brabant Chamber of Rhetoric 'The White Lavender' of Amsterdam, viz. *Amsterdams toneel in het begin van de Gouden Eeuw: Studies over Het Wit Lavendel en de Nederduytsche Academie* (The Hague, 1982), p. 40, note 57, W.M.H. Hummelen, considering the (in his opinion) wrong use of the blazons on the title-page of both the 1619 Franeker edition (see No. EE 2 below) and the undated Amsterdam edition of the *Lacchelicke cluchte*, hypothesizes that there once existed a (currently lost?) edition of the play, of which the title-page, especially the blazon, served as a model for the both editions known. I question the validity of this hypothesis, since the author, in my view erroneously, seems to consider the 1619 Franeker edition to be prior to the undated Amsterdam edition (see the notes to No. EE 2 below).

As regards the plot of the play, it is noteworthy that a play with a similar plot (the sewing of a drunken peasant into a calfskin), entitled *tCalf van wondere*, was already brought upon the stage by the Chamber of Rhetoric 'De Roode Lelie' ('The Red Lily') at Brouwershaven as early as 1559 (see pp. 25-54 of Meijling's thesis referred to in footnote 14 above).

- 2 [in roman and gothic type, within a frame of type orns] *Lacchelijcke* | *CLVCHTE*, | *Van een Boer die in een Calfs =* | *vel benaeyt was.* | [Blazon of the Noordwijk Chamber of Rhetoric 'De Lely onder de doornen', with the motto 'WT LIEFDE BESTAEN'] | *Ghedrukt tot Franeker/* | *By Jan Lamrinck/ inde Boeckdruckerye.* | *Anno 1619.*

*Collation :*

8° : A-B<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (–A1)], 16 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1-32].

*Copy :*

Amsterdam, UB-GU, Port. ton. 86-7\*.

*Notes :*

For a description of this 1619 Franeker edition of the *Lacchelijcke cluchte*, see W.M.H. Hummelen, *Repertorium van het rederijersdrama 1500-ca. 1620* (Assen, 1968), pp. 261-62, No. 4 36<sup>16</sup>. In my view, however, this edition is not of an earlier date than the undated (c. 1615?) Amsterdam edition (= No. EE 1), as is the opinion of Hummelen, but of a later date (see also footnote 15 above).

The presence of the blazon of the Noordwijk Chamber of Rhetoric 'De Lely onder de doornen' ('The Lily among the thorns') on the title-page of this edition might point to the fact that it was this Chamber of Rhetoric, which had the play (re)printed in order to coincide with its performance by the Chamber<sup>17</sup>.

- 3 Of the farce of the peasant sewed up in a calfskin there exists, or existed, a third edition which, as far as I know, remained hitherto unnoticed. The reference to this edition can be found in an auction catalogue, viz. in the *Tweede catalogus, bevattende de verzameling van Nederduitsche tooneelspellen, waeronder veele in schrift. Bijeen verzameld en nagelaeten door wijlen den wel-edelen gestrengen heere Mr. Johan vander Marck, Ae. Z. ... Welke verkocht zullen worden, op Donderdag den 28 April, en volgende dagen. Te Leyden, ten huize van Pieter Delfos, op het Rapenburg* [Auction held on Thursday 28 April 1774 and following days in the house of Pieter Delfos on the Rapenburg in Leyden]

<sup>16</sup> The edition is also listed in the *Catalogus Nederlands toneel* of the library of the University of Amsterdam, compiled by Lucie J.N.K. Boeken-Van Aken, 3 vols (Amsterdam, 1954-56), II (1955), *Vertalingen en bewerkingen. Bijzondere genres*, 387. There is, however, no reason to believe in the validity of her supposition that possibly A. van Oevel is the writer of the farce. This was taken over from Van Doorninck (footnote 13 above), I, col. 430.

<sup>17</sup> For a recent article on the Noordwijk Chamber of Rhetoric, see Geertruida de Moor, F.C. van Boheemen, and Th.C.J. van der Heijden, 'Noordwijkse rederijerswedstrijden en blazoenen', *Holland*, 16 (1984), 121-32.

(Leyden, Karel and Pieter Delfos, Jr., and Corn. van Hoogeveen, Jr., 1774), on p. 76, No. 1202 :

'HUB. VANDER MEERS.

Klught van de Boer in 't Kalfs-vel, bij *W.S. Boogaert*, h.b. 1649'<sup>18</sup>.

*Notes :*

The format of the book is octavo, as already can be seen in the headline on p. 76. I know of no extant copy of this edition.

Willem Symonsz Boogaert, in all likelihood the printer of this edition of the farce, worked at Wormerveer in 1649<sup>19</sup>.

In my opinion it does not seem unlikely that P.G. Witsen Geysbeek, in giving the name of the author of the play as Hubert van der Meers and the date of publication as 1646 (an error for 1649?) referred to a copy of this 1649 Wormerveer edition or, more likely, to a copy of the *Tweede catalogus* (or *Naemrol*) (see also the notes to No. EE 1 and footnote 13 above).

*Dyscoli*

- 4 [in roman, gothic, and italic type] P. GODEVVYCX | VVitte-broots Kinderen/ | OF | Bedorve Jongelingen. | BLY-EYNDE SPEL. | Hoc patrium est confuefacere filium suū sponte rectē | facere, quam alieno metu. *Terent. Adelph.* | Vt argilla, ita iuventus. *Plin.* | [orn. or device, with the motto 'KONST BAERT ROEM.'] | *TOT DORDRECHT*, | [rule] | Voor François Boels, Boeck-verkooper, wonende by't | Stadt-huys, in de Witte gekroonde Duyf, *Anno* 1641.

Colophon, L4<sup>v</sup> : *TOT DORDRECHT*, | [rule] | Gedruckt by *Hendrick van Eſch*, vwonende | in't Hoff. ANNO 1641.

*Collation :*

4° : A-L<sup>4</sup> [\$3 signed (–A1, D2)], 44 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1-88].

<sup>18</sup> A copy of the *Tweede catalogus* is preserved at Amsterdam, UB-GU, 1923 D 21<sup>2)</sup>.

After the auction, in May 1774 the catalogue was published with new preliminaries and a new title (*Naemrol der Nederduitsche tooneelspellen*), and with two additional indices : an alphabetic list of the plays and their authors, if known (*Alphabetische naemlijst der tooneelspellen in de catalogus van wijlen den wel-ed. gestr. heere Mr. Johan vander Marck, Ae. Z. Met de naemen van derzelver dichteren*), and the auction results (*Register der prijzen, op de voorgaende catalogus van tooneelspellen*).

On p. 19<sup>a</sup> of the *Alphabetische naemlijst* the title of the farce is given as *Lacchelijcke Clucht van een Boer die in een Calfsvel benaeyt was*. There it is also indicated that the author was unknown, although on p. 76 of the original unappended catalogue his name was first given as Hub. vander Meers.

A copy of the *Naemrol* is found at The Hague, KB, VC 15738.

<sup>19</sup> See Gruys-De Wolf, *Thesaurus* (footnote 15 above), pp. 12 and 155<sup>a</sup>.



*Copies :*

Amsterdam, UB-GU, 2772 E 24\* (title-imprint damaged with some loss of text; gathering B supplied in photostat); Haarlem, StB, 73 G 5:1\* and 129 A 42; The Hague, KB, 448 J 120\* (original gathering A missing but supplied from another copy).

*Notes :*

In his address to the reader, dated on sig. A3': 'In Dordrecht den 1. Mey, Anno 1641' (Dordrecht, 1 May 1641), P. Godewyck informs us that the main reason for having his comedy, previously written by Cornelius Schonaeus<sup>20</sup>, printed was to deter the young from vices and to encourage the parents to send their children to good schools (sig. A3'). In this preface (sig. A3') and at the end of the play (sig. L4') he asserts to have rhymed his comedy in forty-eight hours.

A new edition of Godewyck's play, together with a short biography of the author and a glossary, was published by G.D.J. Schotel at Utrecht in 1867 under the title *P. Godewyck. Wittebroods-kinderen of bedorve jongelingen. Bly-eynde spel: Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het schoolwezen in ons vaderland in de XVIIe eeuw.*

FF DANISH

*Tobaeus*

- 1 [in roman, gothic, and italic type, within a frame of (rules and) type orns, single at top and sides, double at foot] JUVA JOVA. | Den Gudfryctige Tobiaë | Gifftefær | Vdi en Dansk Comœdia stillet oc stilet | Erlig/ Velbyrdig oc Fornemme Mand | Flemming Vifeldt | til Egeskoff | Oc | Ærerig/ Gudfryctig oc Velbyrdig Jomfrue/ | Jomf. Annæ Elizabeth von | Grøben til Gundersløffholm. | Huis Bryllups Høytid i JESV | Naffn skal angaa til Kiøbenhaffn den | 26. Aprilis Anno 1635. | Til ære oc tieniste | aff | Erick Erichssøn Broby. | *Syrach.* 26. | En god Quinde er et got stycke/ oc hun | giffuis i deris Deel som frycte HËrren. | [rule] | Prentet i Kiøbenhafn aff Henrich Kruse/Aar<sub>1635</sub>.

<sup>20</sup> For more information about Van Godewyck's comedy and its Latin model, Schonaeus's *Dyscoli*, see G.D.J. Schotel, 'Een Latijnsche klucht in een Hollandsch gewaad', *De Nederlandsche spectator*. 1881, no. 31 (30 July 1881), 266<sup>b</sup>-67<sup>a</sup>; A. Hallema, 'Cornelius Schonaeus en zijn wittebroodskinderen 1540 = 1940', *Het Kind*, 42 (1941), 263-67; and R. Turksma, 'P. Van Godewijck's 'Witte-broodskinderen of Bedorve Jongelingen': Een kleine bijdrage tot de kennis van het schoolwezen in Nederland in de 17de eeuw', *Pedagogisch forum*, 6 (1972), 20-27\*. Cf. Y.H. Rogge, 'De blijspelen van Schonaeus', *De Nederlandsche spectator* 1901, no. 23 (8 June 1901), 180<sup>b</sup>-82<sup>a</sup> (p. 181<sup>b</sup>).

*Collation :*

8°: A-D<sup>8</sup> E? (all after D8 missing) [\$5 signed (–A1, B3,5, C3,5)], ? leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1-?].

*Copy :*

Copenhagen, KB, 46-219-8° (Hj. 3450) (description from microfilm). The copy in the Karen Brahe Library at Odense was reported lost.

*Notes :*

The dedication by Erick Erikssøn Broby or, Latinized, Ericus Ericius Pontoppidanus to Flemming Ulfeldt til Egeskoff and Anna Elizabeth von Grøben til Gundersløff Holm is dated on sig. A6<sup>v</sup>: 'Skrefuen til Kiøbenhaffn, den 23 Aprilis, Sanct Jørgens Dag, Aar 1635' (Written in Copenhagen on 23 April, St George's Day, 1635).

For this Danish imitation or extract (with some innovations) of Schonaeus's *Tobaeus*, see the Baron James de Rothschild, *Le Mistère du viel testament*, Volume V (Paris, 1885), p. xxvij, No. 6w, and the literature referred to therein<sup>21</sup>.

The edition is listed in the *Bibliotheca Danica: Systematisk Fortegnelse over den danske litteratur fra 1482 til 1830* (hereafter *Bibliotheca Danica*), Volume III (Copenhagen, 1896; reprint Copenhagen, 1962), col. 1539. Cf. H. Ehrencron-Müller, *Forfatterlexikon omfattende Danmark, Norge og Island indtil 1814*, Volume VI (Copenhagen, 1929), pp. 317-21 (p. 318).

*Iosephus*

- 2 [in roman and gothic type] JOSEPHUS. | Det er | Josephs Historie/  
aff skabel = | sens Bogs 37. 38. oc efterfølgende | Capitler/  
Comædie-Vijs paa Latine aff | Cornelio Schonæo forðum forfatted/  
| nu paa Danske Rijm udsat/ | Oc | Hæderlige oc Vellærd Mand |  
Herr ANDERS LAV = | RITZØN/ | Sogne = Præst/ til Kiælby Sogn |  
paa Møen/ | Sampt hans Kiere Hustru/ Erlig/Dydig oc | Gudfryctig  
Quinde | MARNE ANDERS = Daater/ | som et lidet Tacknemmeligheds  
tegn/ for | meget bevijsst gode til Nyt = Aars gaffve | Tienstvilligen  
offereret, | Aff | Jacob Nielbøn Mærn/ | Anno | I Wor tiID IesV  
glff os frID | WII Vist forVente SaLLigheD. | [rule] | Prentet i  
Kiøbenhaffn/ aff Peter Haake.

*Collation :*

8°: A-F<sup>8</sup> G<sup>4</sup> [\$5 signed (–A1, G4,5)], 52 leaves, pp. 1-3 4-5 6 7-103 104.

<sup>21</sup> Alexander von Weilen is mistaken, I think, when in the entry for Schonaeus in the *ADB* (footnote 7 above), XXXIV (Leipzig, 1892; reprint Berlin, 1971), p. 733, he states that it was Schonaeus's *Nehemias* which was translated into Danish by Eric Pontoppidan.

*Copy :*

Odense, Karen Brahes Bibliotek, A 8-1\*.

*Notes :*

This rhymed Danish version, by Jacob Nielszøn Maern, of Schonaeus's *Iosephus* is listed in the *Bibliotheca Danica*, Volume I (Copenhagen, 1877; reprint Copenhagen, 1961), cols 325-26. The play is dated there 1644. However, the correct date, enclosed in the chronogram verses, is 1645.

GG FRENCH

*Triumphus Christi?*

- 1 Alexander von Weilen in his article on Schonaeus in the *ADB* (footnote 7 above), XXXIV (Leipzig, 1892; reprint Berlin, 1971), p. 733, mentions a 1706 French translation of Schonaeus's *Triumphus Christi* from the hand of Abraham de Champ-Renaud.

*Note :*

I know of no extant copy of this edition and I wonder, if this play was not confused with Schonaeus's Latin farce *Cunae* published by De Champ-Renaud at Berne in 1706 under his own name (see above Bibliography, No. 91).

HH POLISH

*Iosephus*

- 1 JOZEF | STAROZAKONNY. | TRAGICO-KOMEDYA | w PIĘCIU AKTACH | Wierzem nie rythmowym | Przez | X. JOZEFA MINASOWICZA | KANONIKA KATHEDR. KIIOWSKIEGO | z innemi drobnieyfzemi na końcu przydatkami | z *Łacińskiego* | PRZEŁOŻONA. | [rule] | w WARSZAWIE | w Drukarni Mitzlerowfkiey | Korpufu Kadetow. | Nakładem Towarzystwa Literatow w Polfzcie | uftanowionego. | 1768.

*Collation :*

8°: A-E<sup>8</sup> F<sup>2</sup> [\$4 signed (–A1, F3,4)], 42 leaves, pp. 1-5 6-84.

*Copies :*

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 26498 I; Kraków, Narodowe, 39970/I; Płock, Towarzystwo Naukowe Płockie, XVIII, 98; Warsaw, BU, 145007 BP, 4.21.8.1 /62 adl./, and 4.22.5.80\*.

*Notes :*

This rhymed Polish translation of Schonaeus's *Iosephus* by Józef Minasowicz ends on p. 79 and is followed by *Przydatki Do. tegoż. Argumentu służące* I-III (pp. 79-84).

On p. 2 eight Latin verses are quoted from the end of the *Peroratio* of Schonaeus's *Iosephus*.

*Tobaeus*

- 2 TABASZ | ALBO | TOBIASZ STARY | TRAGI-KOMEDYA |  
w PIĘCIU AKTACH | z ŁACIŃSKIEGO | Wierszem PolŃkim nie  
rytmowym. | [orn. rule] | [orn.] | [rule] | w WARSZAWIE | w Drukarni  
J. K. Mci y Rzpltey | MitzlerowŃkiey. | 1773.

*Collation :*

8°: A-D<sup>8</sup> E<sup>2</sup> [\$2 signed (-A1, E2)], 34 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1-68].

*Copies :*

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 26662 I; Kraków, Narodowe, 39910/I; Warsaw, BU, 145008 BP, 4.21.8.1 /42<sub>2</sub> adl./, and 4.22.4.63\*; Warsaw, Duchownego, P.70.35c; Wrocław, PAN, XVIII-13021.

*Notes :*

From the initials X. (= Xiądz : priest) J. M., with which the dedication on sig. A3<sup>v</sup> is signed, it can be deduced that the author of this rhymed Polish translation of Schonaeus's *Tobaeus* was Józef Minasowicz (see also the title-page of the Polish *Józef* in No. HH 1 above).

On sig. A1<sup>v</sup> there is a passage quoted from Loosaeus's foreword to (the first part of) Schonaeus's *Terentius Christianus*.

## II SWEDISH

*Vitulus*

- 1 VITULUS, | THET ÄR | EN LUSTIG FABULA | OM | EN  
BONDE, BENÄMDH CORÆBUS, SOM BLEFF BORTSÅLD |  
FÖR EN KALF, | I COMOEDIÆWIJS STÄLT PÅ LATIJN |  
AF | CORNELIO SCHONÆO | OCH | NU PÅ SWÄNSKA  
VERTERAT | AF | CHRISTOPHERO MORÆO, | Scholæ Nycopensis  
ConRectore. | EFTER EN HAMDSKRIFT UTGIFVEN | AF |  
P. HANSELLI. | [short rule] | UPSALA, | TRYCKT HOS P. HANSELLI. |  
1877.

*Collation :*

8°: π<sup>4</sup> 1-5<sup>8</sup> 6<sup>4</sup> [\$1 signed], 48 leaves, pp. 1-4 5-7 8 9-11 12 13-96.

*Copies :*

Åbo, ÅAB, IV cl; Helsinki, YK, 320.II.5; Linköping, SLB, Skönlitt. Nylat.; Lund, UB, Vitt. Nylat.; Stockholm, KB, Sv. Saml. Vitt. Sv. Dram.; The Hague, KB, 987 D 26\*; Uppsala, UB, Sv. lit. Dram.

*Notes :*

We are concerned here with the printed transcription of Moraeus's manuscript version of Schonaeus's *Vitulus* (see No. CC 1 above). It was published by P. Hanselli with a foreword dated: 'Upsala i November 1877'.

With a different title-page, different page-numerals, and some minor alterations, the same text and foreword can also be found in *Samlade vitterhetsarbeten af svenska forfattare från Stjernhjelm till Dalin. Efter originalupplagor och handskrifter utgifna af P. Hanselli*, Volume XXI, ... (Upsala, Tryckta 150 ex. hos P. Hanselli, 1876), pp. 377-472 (a copy of this work is at Lund, UB, Vitt. Sv. Saml.\*).

# INDICES

## 1. GENERAL INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES

*References are to entry numbers*

Figures in *italics* refer to footnotes and are preceded by an *A*,  
when these are in the Appendices

- AGGERIUS (Harlemensis), Simon : 16a,  
16b, 20, 22, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 50  
*see also* Index of commendatory and  
laudatory Poets
- AJAX TELAMONIUS : *A12*
- ALCIBIADES : *see* SILENUS ALCIBIADIS
- ALLDE, Edward : 33, 43, 76  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- ALLISON, A.F. : 58, 68, 74, 86
- AMPZING, Samuel : 10, 22, 23
- ANDERS-DAATER, Marne : FF 2
- ANDREAE JR, Johann : 83, 84, 85  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- ANDREAS (Desselius), Valerius : 12, 29
- ANNE, Queen of Great Britain and Ire-  
land : 100
- APHERDIANUS, Petrus : 4, 6, 11  
*see also* Index of commendatory and  
laudatory Poets
- ARBER, Edward : 77, 100
- ARISTOPHANES : 25, 26a, 26b, 29a, 29b,  
29c, 32a, 32b, 40, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64,  
67, 70, 73, 84, 88, 93, 97
- ASSENDELFT, Willem van : *see*  
ASSENDELPHIUS, Gulielmus
- ASSENDELPHIUS, Gulielmus : 19, 22, 24a,  
24b, 24c, 24d, 27, 56  
*see also* Index of commendatory and  
laudatory Poets
- AUBRY, Daniel : A 8a  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- AUBRY, David : A 8a  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- AUGUST, Duke of Saxony : *A6*
- AUGUSTINE, St : A 5
- AULUS : A 6
- BAER (Delphius), Sebastianus : 2
- BARACK, Karl August : 5
- BARVITIUS, Io. : 14, 15, 18a, 18b, 20
- BAULDWIN, William : 96
- BEALE, John : 37, 74, 75
- BEHEM, Franz : A 1  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- BELUS : 62
- BENIER, Arent : 59, 60, 61a, 61b  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- BENZING, Jøsef : 24a, 42, 50, 87, 91, 91,  
95, 103
- BETHLEN OF IKTAR, Family : 76
- BIRCHER, Martin : DD 1, DD 4
- BIRCKMANNUS, Arnoldus Arn. F. : *see*  
MYLIUS, Arnoldus Arn. F. Birckmannus
- BISHOP, Richard : 75, 96  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- BLYENBURGIUS (Batavus), Damasus : A 3a,  
A 3b, A 4a, A 4b
- BOEKEN-VAN AKEN, Lucie J.N.K. : *A16*
- BOELS, François : EE 4  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers

- BOHEEMEN, F. C. van : *A17*  
 BOHN, John : 50, 79  
 BOLTE, Johannes : 80, 81, DD 4, *A12*, *A14*  
 BOOGAERT, Willem Symonsz : EE 3  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 BORCHLING, Conrad : DD 4, *A12*  
 BORCULO, Herman van : A 5  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 BOSCH, F. van den : 79  
 BÖTTCHER, Johann : DD 1  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 BOUMAN, José : 6, 12  
 BOWES, Robert : 58, 85  
 BOWLER, James : 75  
 BRADOCK, Richard : 37  
 BRASSICA, Gerardus : A 2  
 BRASSICA (Rotterdamus), Iacobus : 60, A 2  
 BREDERO, Gerbrand Adriaensz : *A14*  
 BRIELS, J. G. C. A. : 16a, 16b, 19, 25, 34a,  
 34b, 42  
 BROBY, Erick Erickssøn : *see*  
 PONTOPPIDANUS, Ericus Ericius  
 BROWN, Carleton : *A1*  
 BRUTUS, Marcus Junius : 75  
 BUCK, John : 57, 85  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 BUCK, Thomas : 57, 58, 84, 85  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 BURCH, Handrianus van der : *see*  
 VANDERBURCHUIS, Adrianus  
 BURGER JR, C. P. : 6, 12, 13, 25, 34a, 42,  
 52, 70, *A15*  
 BUSCHERE, I. de : 22  
 BUYCK, Jacob : 21
- CAECILIANUS : A 3a, A 6  
 CALCOVIUS, Jodocus : *see* KALCKHOVEN,  
 Jost  
 CALLIDIUS : *see* LOOS(AEUS) CALLIDIUS,  
 Cornelius  
 CAMILLA : *see* MOREL, Camilla  
 CAMPBELL, Lily B. : 46, *A2*
- CAMPEN, Pieter Jansz van : 53, 54, 55, 96  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 CANIN, Abraham : A 3b  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 CANIN, Isaac : A 4a  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 CARPENTERIUS, Petrus : 19, 27  
*see also* Index of commendatory and  
 laudatory Poets  
 CARTHENY (CARTIGNY), Iohn (Jean de) :  
 96  
 CATS, Jacob : A 7  
 CHAMP-RENAUD, Abraham de : 91, 101,  
 102, GG 1  
*see also* Index of Translators/Adaptors,  
 and Index of Dedications and Prefaces/  
 Forewords  
 CHARLES I, King of Great Britain and  
 Ireland : 75  
 CHARLES II, King of England, Scotland,  
 and Ireland : 100  
 CHIMARRHAeus, Iacobus : 29c, 32a, 32b,  
 40, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 65, 67, 70, 73, 84,  
 88, 93, 97  
*see also* Index of Dedications and  
 Prefaces/Forewords  
 CHRIST, Jesus : 48, A 5, DD 1, DD 2, FF 1  
 CHRISTIAN V, King of Denmark : 91  
 CICERO, Marcus Tullius : A 2  
 CLAUSEN, J. : 98  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 CLAUSSEN, Bruno : DD 4, *A12*  
 COELIUS : A 6  
 COHEN, A. E. : 99  
 COMMELIN(US), Hieronymus : 16b, 42, 43  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 COMMELIN(US), Jan : 16b, 42  
 COORNHERT, Dirk Volckertsz : 25  
 CORAEBUS : II 1, *A10*  
 CORSTEN, Severin : 95  
 CRAIG, Hardin : *A1*  
 CRASHAW, Richard : 86

- CRATES : A 6
- CUBACH, Michael : 66, 67, 68  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- CURTIUS À SENFFTENAU, Iacobus : *see*  
 SENFFTENAU, Iacobus Curtius à
- DADE Gen., William : 96
- DALE, Cornelius à : 40, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64,  
 67, 70, 73, 76, 84, 88, 93, 97  
*see also* Index of commendatory and  
 laudatory Poets
- DALIN, Olof von : II 1
- DANIEL, Roger : 57, 58, 84, 85  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- DARTHENUS, Frid. Hulsius : *see*  
 HULSIUS DARTHENUS, Frid.
- DAWSON, Thomas : 68
- DEGERING, Hermann : A8, A9
- DEKKER, Thomas : 74
- DELFO, Karel : EE 3
- DELFO JR, Pieter : EE 3
- DEXTER, Robert : 17, 28  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- DIETRICH, Katharina : 27  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- DIETZ, Alexander : 103
- DIODORUS : A 6
- DONELLUS, Hugo : 10
- DOORNINCK, J.I. van : A13, A16
- DORNAVIUS, Caspar : A 8a, A 8b
- DOUSA, Janus, Lord of Noordwijk : 10,  
 14, A 4b
- DUBIEZ, F.J. : 11
- DÜNNHAUPT, Gerhard : A12
- EHRENCRON-MÜLLER, H. : FF 1
- EICHSFELD, Ephraim Gottlob : 59
- ELSENWANGER, Ignaz, Widow of : 97  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- ELZEVIER, Lowijs : A 3a  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- ENSCHEDÉ EN ZONEN, Johannes : 99  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- EPISCOPIUS, David : A 4a  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- ERASMUS, Desiderius : 98
- ESCH, Hendrick van : EE 4  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- EUFRENIUS, Albertus : 44, 54, 56, 60, 64,  
 67, 70, 73, 84, 88, 93  
*see also* Index of commendatory and  
 laudatory Poets
- EVANS, William : 76
- FEKETE, Nicolaus : 76
- FEKETE, Stephanus : 76  
*see also* Index of Dedications and  
 Prefaces/Forewords
- FERDINAND, Count Palatine of the Rhine,  
 Duke of Upper- and Lower-Bavaria  
 etc. : 14, 15, 18a, 18b, 20, 23, 29c, 31a  
*see also* Index of Dedications and  
 Prefaces/Forewords
- FERGUSON, F.S. : 67
- FIELD, Richard : 28, 62  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- FISCHER, Christoph : 62  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- FISCHER, Jacob : A 6  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- FLACCUS, Quintus Horatius : 4
- FLORILEGUS BATAVUS : *see* BLYENBURGIUS  
 (Batavus), Damasus
- FOKKER, G.A. : 70
- FORTUNATUS : *see* VENANTIUS  
 FORTUNATUS
- FOXIUS MORZILLUS, Sebastianus : 25
- FREIMOND, Io. W. : 18b, 20
- GADENSTEDT, Barthold von : DD 1  
*see also* Index of Translators/Adaptors
- GAEDERTZ, Karl Theodor : A12



- GALLA : A 4a, A 4b, A 6  
 GARDBERG, Carl-Rudolf : 78, 98  
 GARRER, A. H. : A14  
 GERLACH (Coldicensis), Elias : A6  
*see also* Index of Translators/Adaptors  
 GEZELIUS, Johan(nes), Bishops of Åbo :  
 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 98  
 GHERUS, Ranutius : *see* GRUT(H)ERUS,  
 Janus  
 GILBERTSON, William : 96  
 GODEWYCK, P. : EE 4, A20  
*see also* Index of Translators/Adaptors  
 GOEDEKE, Karl : DD 1, DD 2, DD 3, A5  
 GOGUÉ : 96  
 GOLTZIUS, Hendrick : A\*  
 GOTTSCHED, Johann Christoph : A5  
 GOUDE, Cornelis Jacobss. van der : Plate  
 29  
 GRAAF, Bob de : 6, 11  
 GRAAF, Maria Emilie de : 6, 11  
 GRAESSE, Jean George Théodore : 37  
 GREENE, Robert : 68, 74  
 GREVENBROICH, Gerard : 14, 15, 18a, 18b,  
 20, 23, 29a, 29b, 29c, 30, 31a, 31b, 32a,  
 32b, 35a, 35b, 36, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44,  
 45, 46, 52, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73,  
 76, 84, 88, 93, 97  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers, *and* Index of Dedications  
 and Prefaces/Forewords  
 GREVENBRUCH, Ger(h)ard(us) : *see*  
 GREVENBROICH, Gerhard  
 GRIMALDI, S. de : 22  
 GRIMMELSHAUSEN, Hans Jacob Christoph  
 von : A8  
 GRØBEN TIL GUNDERSLØFFHOLM, Anna  
 Elizabeth von : FF 1  
 GRONENBERG, Simon : 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d,  
 26a, 26b, 59  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 GRUT(H)ERUS, Janus : A 6  
 GRUYS, J. A. : A15, A19  
 GUYOT, Christoffel : A 3a  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 HAAKE, Peter : FF 2  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 HALL, William : 37  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 HALLEMA, A. : A20  
 HANSELLI, P. : II 1, A10  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 HARBAGE, Alfred : A2  
 HARTZ, S. L. : 99  
 HAUBOLD, Peter : 69, 70, 71, 83, 84, 85,  
 90, 91, 92  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 HAUGSTED, Mogens : 69  
 HAVILAND, Thomas : 37  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 HEIJDEN, Th. C. J. van der : A17  
 HEITZ, Paul : 5, 11, 14, 15, 18a, 18b, 20,  
 23, 29a, 29b, 29c, 30, 31a, 31b, 32a, 32b,  
 35a, 35b, 36, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46,  
 52, 56  
 HELLEN, Hans van der : A 7  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 HERBERT, George : 86  
 HEYNS, Zacharias : 25, 34a, 34b, 60, 72,  
 A15  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 HIERSEMANN, Anton : A12  
 HOEVE, Willem van der : 63a, 63b, 64, 65  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 HOFFMANN, Andreas : 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d,  
 26a, 26b  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 HOFFMANN, Nikolaus : A 6  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers  
 HOG(H)ESTEYN, Philippus (Haecmundanus)  
 ab : 1a, 1b, 2, 3a, 3b, 8

- see also* Index of commendatory and laudatory Poets, *and* Index of Dedications and Prefaces/Forewords
- HÖLDER : 81
- HÖN, Timotheus : 66, 67, 68  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers
- HOOGEVEEN JR, Cornelis van : EE 3
- HORACE (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) : *see* FLACCUS, Quintus Horatius
- HUGUENET, Andreas : 91
- HULSIUS, Samuel : 13, 31
- HULSIUS DARTHENUS, Frid. : 14, 15, 20, 22, 23, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 31a, 96  
*see also* Index of commendatory and laudatory Poets
- HUMMELEN, W. M. H. : EE 2, A15
- ILSØE, Ingrid : 91
- IUNIUS (Hornanus), Hadrianus : 1a, 1b, 4, 7, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16a, 16b, 20, 22, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 84, 88, 93, 96  
*see also* Index of commendatory and laudatory Poets
- JAMES II, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland : 100
- JANSSENIUS, Joannes : A 4b  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers
- JANSZ, Broer : EE 1, A15  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers
- JANSZ, Pieter : *see* CAMPEN, Pieter Jansz van
- JEROME (HIERONYMUS), St : A 7
- JESUS CHRIST : *see* CHRIST, Jesus
- JOHN THE BAPTIST, St : A9
- JONES, Gwen Ann : A3
- JONGE VAN ELLEMEET, W. C. M. de : A 7
- JOSEPH : A8
- JUDITH : A3
- JUNDT, August : 26
- JUNG, Johann Adam : 92a, 92b, 93, 94  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers
- KALCKHOVEN, Jost : 72, 73, 74, 87, 95  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers
- KASZA, Alexander : 76  
*see also* Index of Dedications and Prefaces/Forewords
- KASZA, Stephanus : 76
- KEGELINGH, Gerrit Franz : *see* KEGELINGUS, Gerardus Franciscus
- KEGELINGUS, Gerardus Franciscus : 19, 25, 27, 53  
*see also* Index of Dedications and Prefaces/Forewords
- KEMPENAER, A. de : A13
- KERTÉSZ SZENCZI, Ábrahám : 76  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers, *and* Index of Dedications and Prefaces/Forewords
- KETELIUS, Cornelius Iacobaei : 4  
*see also* Index of commendatory and laudatory Poets
- KIRCHNER, Ambrosius : DD 1  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers
- KLEERKOOPER, M. M. : A15
- KOPS, Willem : 70
- KOSTER, Simon : 70
- KRUSE, Henrich : FF 1  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers
- KRUYSKAMP, C. : A14
- KÜHNE, Heinrich : 24a
- KUIPER, Ernst Jan : 25
- KUIPER, Gerrit : 25
- KUYCK, Ant. à : 6
- LACEULLE-VAN DE KERK, H. J. : 16a, 16b, 19, 28, 34b, 36, 38, 42, 52, 60
- LAEDA : A 4a, A 4b, A 6
- LAMRINCK, Jan : EE 2  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers
- LANDWEHR, John : A 7
- LANGHE, I. de : 2
- LAURENSZ, Hendrick : 53, 54, 55, 59, 60, 61a, 61b, 63a, 63b, 64, 65, 82, 88

- see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- LAURITZØN, Anders : FF 2
- LEBEGUE : 96
- LENNEP, Jhr. O. van : 70
- LEOPOLD I, Holy Roman Emperor : 83
- LE PREUX, Jean : 39  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- LESBIA : A 4a, A 4b, A 6
- LICHFIELD, Anne : 77  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- LIPSIUS, Iustus : 10
- LODGE, Thomas : 68
- LOËUS, Hendrik : 4  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- LOM(MIUS) (Ruraemundanus/Ruremun-  
densis), Iacobus : 15, 18a, 18b, 20, 22,  
23, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 31a, 44, 54, 56,  
60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 84, 88, 93, 97  
*see also* Index of commendatory and  
laudatory Poets
- LOOS(AEUS) CALLIDIUS, Cornelius : 14, 15,  
18a, 18b, 20, 22, 23, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d,  
29c, 31a, 31b, 34, 35a, 35b, 38, 41, 46,  
53, 56, 59, 63a, 63b, 66, 69, 72, 76, 83,  
87, 92a, 92b, 96, 97, 109, A 1, HH 2  
*see also* Index of commendatory and  
laudatory Poets, and Index of Dedications  
and Prefaces/Forewords
- LOUIS XVI, King of France : 96
- LOURDET DE SANTERRE, Jean-Baptiste :  
96
- LYCORIS : A 4a, A 4b, A 6
- MACRAY, Gulielmus D. : A2
- MADAN, Falconer : 97, A4
- MAERN, Jacob Nielsøn : FF 2  
*see also* Index of Translators/Adaptors
- MAJOR, E. : A7  
*see also* Index of Translators/Adaptors
- MAMERANUS : A 6
- MANNACK, Eberhard : A12
- MANNACK, Helga : A12
- MARCELLUS : A 6
- MARCK, Johan Aez. van der : EE 3, A18
- MARIANUS : A 6
- MARS : A 6
- MARVELL, Andrew : 86
- MARY II, Queen of England, Scotland,  
and Ireland : 100
- McKERROW, Ronald B. : 17, 28, 37, 47,  
51, 76, 85
- MEERS, Hubert van der : EE 1, EE 3
- MEIJLING, Herman : A14, A15
- MELISSUS, Paulus : 14
- MELPOMENE : 53
- MENANDER : 15, 18b, 20, 23, 31a, 44, 54,  
56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 84, 88, 93, 97
- MERLE, Godefridus à : 4
- METRODORUS : A 6
- MILIUS, Arnoldus Arn. F. : *see* MYLIUS,  
Arnoldus Arn. F. Birckmannus
- MINASOWICZ, Józef : HH 1, HH 2  
*see also* Index of Translators/Adaptors
- MINERVA : 53
- MITZLER DE KOLOF, Wawrzyniec : HH 1,  
HH 2  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- MOERKERKEN, P.H. van : A15
- MOES, E.W. : 12, 25, 34a, 52, 70, A15
- MOLHUYSEN, P.C. : 25
- MOOR, Geertruida de : A17
- MORAEUS, Christopherus : II 1, A10  
*see also* Index of Translators/Adaptors
- MOREL, Camilla : 18a, 18b
- MORETUS, Jan : 2, 20, 22, 56, 96  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- MORZILLUS, Sebastianus Foxius : *see*  
FOXIUS MORZILLUS, Sebastianus
- MULLER, Harmen Jansz : 6, 12  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- MULLER Fz., S. : 71
- MUNBY, A.N.L. : 71
- MUSTELIN, Olof : 98
- MYLE, Cornelius vander : 4  
*see also* Index of Dedications and  
Prefaces/Forewords

- MYLIUS, Arnoldus Arn. F. Birckmannus :  
29a, 29b, 29c, 32a, 32b, 40, 44, 54, 56,  
60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 84, 88, 93  
*see also* Index of commendatory and  
laudatory Poets
- NAEVIUS : A 6
- NAEVLUS : A 3a
- NYON JR, Pierre-Michel : 96  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- OEVEL, A. van : A16
- ORANGE, William of, Prince : *see* WILLIAM  
I, Prince of Orange (The Silent)
- PAEMBURGIUS, Gerardus : A 6
- PALANTIA, Anna : 18a, 18b
- PALFREYMAN, Thomas : 96
- PANTZER, Katharine F. : 62, 67, 68, 73
- PARDO, Silvester : 22
- PAUL, St : 3a, 50, 97
- PEREBOMIUS (Goudanus), Eugenius : 16a,  
16b, 25, 26a, 26b, 30, 36, 42, 45, 55,  
61a, 61b, 65, 68, 71, 74, 85, 89, 94  
*see also* Index of Dedications and  
Prefaces/Forewords
- PERSEUS : A12
- PETER, St : 50
- PETRI, Franciscus : 76  
*see also* Index of Dedications and  
Prefaces/Forewords
- PETRI, Stephanus : 76
- PFEIFFER, Erasmus : DD 3, A12
- PHILIP, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke  
of Upper- and Lower-Bavaria etc. : 14,  
15, 18a, 18b, 20, 23, 29c, 31a  
*see also* Index of Dedications and  
Prefaces/Forewords
- PHILLIPPS, Sir Thomas : 71
- PLANTIN, Christopher : 1a, 1b, 2, 3a, 3b,  
5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 22  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- PLAUTUS, Titus Maccius : 40, 44, 54, 56,  
60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 76, 84, 88, 93, 97
- PLINY (the Elder or the Younger?) : EE 4
- PLOMER, Henry R. : 37, 85
- POLICH, Johann Michael : 87, 88, 89  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- POLYCANTHARUS : A 6, A 8a, A 8b
- POMPILIANUS : A 3a
- PONTICUS : A 6
- PONTILIANUS : A 6
- PONTOPPIDANUS, Ericus Ericius : FF 1,  
A21  
*see also* Index of Translators/Adaptors
- PORT, Wilhelm : 42
- POTTERUS, Ludolphus : 10
- PROTEUS : A 7
- PURDIE, Edna : A3
- RAWLINSON, Richard : 96, AA 2, AA 3,  
AA 4, AA 5, AA 6, AA 8, AA 9, A2
- RICHARDS, C. : 50
- RICHARDS, Thomas : 50
- RICHTER, Günter : 43
- RIJNBACH, A.A. van : A14, A15
- RIJPERMAN, H.H.P. : 72
- RIST, Johann : DD 3, A12
- RITTER, François : 5, 10
- ROBERTS, James : 68
- ROBINSON, Robert : 17, 37  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- ROGGE, Y.H. : 98, A20
- ROLLIN, Charles : 96, 108
- ROOMAN, Gillis : 12, 13, 16a, 16b, 19, 21,  
25, 28, 42, 60, A 2, A15  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers, *and* Index of Dedications  
and Prefaces/Forewords
- ROTHSCHILD, Baron James de : FF 1, A5
- RUDOLPH II, Holy Roman Emperor : 14,  
15, 18a, 18b, 20
- SAINT ANDRÉ, Pierre de : *see*  
COMMELIN(US), Hieronymus
- SAU(E)R, Johannes : DD 2, DD 3  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
Booksellers
- SAUL : A5
- SCAEVOLA : A 6

- SCHERF, Balthasar : 50  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- SCHILLEMANS, F. : A 7
- SCHLEICH, Clemens : A 8a  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- SCHNORR VON CAROLSFELD, Franz : A6
- SCHNURR (von Lendsi(e)del), Balthasar :  
 DD 2, DD 3, A11  
*see also* Index of Translators/Adaptors
- SCHOENBAUM, S. : A2
- SC(H)ONAEUS (Goudanus), Cornelius :  
 passim  
*see also* Index of commendatory and  
 laudatory Poets, *and* Index of Dedications  
 and Prefaces/Forewords
- SCHOTEL, G.D.J. : EE 4, A20
- SC(H)REVELIUS (Harlemensis), Theodorus :  
 10, 19, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26a, 26b, 27, 29a,  
 29b, 29c, 30, 32a, 32b, 36, 39, 40, 42,  
 44, 45, 54, 55, 56, 60, 61a, 61b, 64, 65,  
 67, 70, 73, 74, 76, 84, 88, 89, 93, 94, 97  
*see also* Index of commendatory and  
 laudatory Poets
- SCHRIJVER, Pieter Henricksz : *see*  
 SC(H)RIVERIUS, Petrus
- SC(H)RIVERIUS (Harlemensis), Petrus : 10,  
 23, 25, 26a, 26b, 29a, 29b, 29c, 30, 32a,  
 32b, 36, 40, 42, 44, 45, 49, 54, 55, 56,  
 60, 61a, 61b, 64, 65, 67, 70, 73, 74, 84,  
 88, 89, 93, 94, 97  
*see also* Index of commendatory and  
 laudatory Poets
- SCHULCKENIUS (Geldriensis), Adolphus :  
 29a, 29b, 29c, 32a, 32b, 40, 44, 54, 56,  
 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 76, 84, 88, 93, 97  
*see also* Index of commendatory and  
 laudatory Poets
- SEELMANN, W. : DD 4, A14
- SELM, Bert van : 43, 82, 83, 88, 89
- SENFTEAU, Iacobus Curtius : 14, 15,  
 18a
- SETERS, W.H. van : 25
- SEYLER, Jakob Gottfried : A 8b  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- SIEBMACHER, J. : 76
- SILENUS ALCIBIADIS (= SOCRATES) : A 7
- SILVESTRE, L.-C. : 11
- SILVIUS, Willem : 1a, 1b, 3a, 3b, 7  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- SKOPNIK, Günter : 26
- SNODHAM, Thomas : 47, 51  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers
- SOCRATES : A 8a, A 8b
- SOPHOCLES : 19, 22, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 27,  
 A12
- SOVVIUS, Simon : 6  
*see also* Index of commendatory and  
 laudatory Poets
- SPANGENBERG, Johann : DD 2
- SPECCIUS, Christoph : 50, 80
- SPECK, Christoph : *see* SPECCIUS, Christoph
- STEEGHEN, Waltherus vander : 7
- STEIGER, C.F. von : 39
- STEINMEYER, Elias von : 80
- STERCK, J.F.M. : A15
- STJERNHJELM, Georg von : II 1
- STOCHIUS, Nicolaus : 10
- STOCKUM JR, W.P. van : A15
- STOPP, Frederick John : 81
- SURENUS, Ioannes : 1a, 1b  
*see also* Index of Dedications and  
 Prefaces/Forewords
- ŚWIERK, Alfred : 43
- SZENCZI, Ábrahám : *see* KERTÉSZ SZENCZI,  
 Ábrahám
- TAYLOR, John : 75
- TELAMON : A12
- TERENCE AFER, Publius : 1a, 1b, 7, 11, 14,  
 15, 16a, 16b, 18a, 18b, 19, 20, 22, 23,  
 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 25, 26a, 26b, 29a,  
 29b, 29c, 31a, 32a, 32b, 40, 44, 47, 53,  
 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 76, 84, 84,  
 88, 93, 96, 97, 101, DD 1, EE 4
- THOREK : 97
- TOURNAY, Jasper : 49  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/  
 Booksellers

- TROTTMANN, Ioannes Henricus : 97  
*see also* Index of Dedications and Prefaces/Forewords
- TRUHLÁŘ, Joseph : 114
- TSCIFFELI, Daniel : 91  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers
- TSCIFFELI, Gabriel : 91
- TURKSMA, R. : A20
- TUYNMAN, P. : 23
- ULFELDT TIL EGESKOFF, Flemming : FF 1
- UTENHOVE, Charles : *see* UTENHOVIUS, Karolus
- UTENHOVIA, Anna ab : 18b
- UTENHOVIUS JR (Neochthon), Karolus : 18a, 18b, 20  
*see also* Index of commendatory and laudatory Poets
- VAIRLENIUS, Hieronymus : 2, 3a, 3b
- VALERIUS, Cornelius : 10, 25
- VALKEMA BLOUW, P. : 60
- VALVASENSE, Stefano : 95  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers, *and* Index of Dedications and Prefaces/Forewords
- VANDEBURCHUS (Ultraiectinus), Adrianus : A 5
- VARUS : A 6
- VAUGHAN, Henry : 86
- VAUTROLLIER, Jacqueline : 28
- VAUTROLLIER, Thomas : 28, 62
- VEKEMANNUS, Petrus : 10
- VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS : DD 2
- VENNE, A. van de : A 7
- VENUS : A 6
- VINCKIUS, Iudocus : A 6
- VLOTEN, J. van : A13
- VOCCINIUS (Ultraiectinus), Ioannes : 1a, 1b, 2, 7  
*see also* Index of commendatory and laudatory Poets, *and* Index of Dedications and Prefaces/Forewords
- VOCKING, J(oh)an Pieterss. : *see* VOCCINIUS, Ioannes
- VOET, Leon : 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 18
- VOGELEIS, Martin : 26
- VRIES, A.G.C. de : A 7
- VRIESEMA, Paul : 6, 12
- WATSON, Foster : 17, 45
- WECHEL, Andreas, Heirs of : A 8a  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers
- WEILEN, Alexander von : 81, GG 1, A7, A21
- WIDMANN, Hans : 43
- WILD, P. : 87
- WILL, Georg Andreas : 81
- WILLIAM I, Prince of Orange (The Silent) : 10
- WILLIAM III, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland : 100
- WILLIAMS, John : A4  
*see also* Index of Translators/Adaptors
- WIMMER, Ruprecht : A8
- WINDET, John : 33, 67
- WINKEL, J. te : A14
- WINTER, Johan(nes) Carlsson : 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 98  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers
- WINTERTON, Ralph : 58, 84
- WITSEN GEYSBEEK, P.G. : EE 1, EE 3, A13
- WITTE, Hans : 48  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers
- WOLF, C. de : A15, A19
- WOODFIELD, Denis B. : 28, 62
- WORP, J.A. : A14, A15
- WOU (Harlemensis), Gulielmus a/Willem van : 19, 20, 27, 50  
*see also* Index of commendatory and laudatory Poets
- WOU, Timan(nus) à/van : 16a, 16b, 25, 26a, 26b, 30, 36, 42, 45, 52, 55, 61a, 61b, 65, 68, 71, 74, 85, 89, 94, A 5, Plate 21  
*see also* Index of Dedications and Prefaces/Forewords
- WYRIOT, Nikolaus : 5, 11  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers
- ZUNNER JR, Johann David, Heirs of : 92a, 92b, 93, 94  
*see also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers

## 2. SELECT INDEX OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES WITH MAJOR TOPICS\*

*References are to entry numbers*

Figures in *italics* refer to footnotes and are preceded by an *A*,  
when these are in the Appendices

- ABERYSTWYTH : AA 7  
 ÅBO/TURKU :  
   Academy of, 78  
   bishops of, 78  
   printing house at, 78, 98  
 ALSACE : 10, 26  
 ALTDORF : 50  
   Academy/University of, 50, 80, 81  
 AMLIS(HAGEN) : DD 2  
 AMSTERDAM : 11, 12, 16b, 42, 53, 63a,  
   *A15*  
   auction catalogues at, 10, 49  
   Brabant Chamber of Rhetoric at, EE 1,  
   *A15*  
   Grammar-school theatrical society at, 98  
   Latin schools at, 4, 6, 13  
   manuscript note in copy at, 21  
   stock catalogues at, 43, 53, 54, 55, 63a,  
   64, 65, 82, 83, 88, 89  
 ANNABERG : BB 1, *A5*  
 ANTWERP : 7, 10, 14, 20, 22, 56  
   Collegiate/Cathedral Church of Our  
   Lady at, 2, 22  
   ecclesiastical approbations given at, 2,  
   7, 22  
   Plantin's archives and book catalogues  
   at, 1a, 1b, 2, 3a, 3b, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10,  
   22, 58  
   Plantin's *Officina*/printing house/*typo-*  
   *graphia* at, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 22, 56, 96  
   Plantin-Moretus Museum at, 3, 4, 5, 6,  
   9, 15, 16, 18, 22, 24, 57, 58  
 BAVARIA : *see* FERDINAND, Count Palatine  
   of the Rhine etc., *and* PHILIP, Count  
   Palatine of the Rhine etc.  
 BELGIUM : 29, A 6  
 BERLIN (FRG) : BB 4, BB 5  
 BERNE : 39, GG 1  
 BRABANT : EE 1, *A15*  
   Council of, 22  
 BRESLAU : *see* WROCLAW  
 BROUWERSHAVEN, Chamber of Rhetoric  
   at : *A14*, *A15*  
 BRUSSELS, privileges given at : 2, 22  
 CAMBRIDGE, University Press/Printers at :  
   57, 58, 84, 85  
 CHELTENHAM, Bibliotheca Phillippica at :  
   71  
 COLDITZ : *A6*  
 COLOGNE : 14, 16b, 20, 30, 66, 76, 87  
   Academy of, *see* SCHULCKENIUS, Adol-  
   phus  
   dedications and foreword written at, *see*  
   Index of dedications and prefaces/fore-  
   words s.v. GREVENBRUCH, Gerardus;  
   LOOSAEUS CALLIDIUS, Cornelius; *and*  
   KERTÉSZ SZENCZI, Ábrahám  
   *see also* PHILIP, Count Palatine of the  
   Rhine etc.  
 COPENHAGEN : 69, 83, 90, FF 1  
 CULLY : 102  
 DEBRECEN : 76  
 DELFT : *see* BAER, Sebastianus  
 DENMARK : 69, FF 1, FF 2  
 DESSEL : *see* ANDREAS, Valerius  
 DORDRECHT : EE 4  
 DRESDEN : 92a, BB 2, *A6*

\* *See also* Index of Printers and Publishers/Booksellers : Part II — Geographical  
 Locations of libraries are only given, if these are not included in the List of Libraries  
 Cited, q.v.

- EGESKOFF (EGESKOV) : FF 1
- EGMOND : *see* HOG(H)ESTEYN, Philippus ab
- ENGLAND : 17, 28, 33, 37, 43, 45, 46, 47, 51, 57, 58, 62, 75, 77, 86, 90, A2
- FINLAND : 78, 98
- FRANCE : 96
- FRANCONIA : 80
- FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN : 42, 103, DD 2, DD 3
- GENEVA : 42
- GERMANY : 16b, 22, 29, 34, 49, 54, 91, 103
- GOUDA : 14  
     burgomaster of, 19, <25>, 27, <53>  
     castellan and bailiff (*baljuw*) of, 4  
     Latin school at, 14  
     municipal archives at, 17  
     town council of, 4, 9, 16a, 16b  
     *see also* IUNIUS, Hadrianus (*Acrostichis*); PEREBOMIUS, Eugenius; SCHONAEUS, Cornelius; *and* WOU, Gulielmus a (*Te-trastichon*)
- GUELTERS/GELRE/GELDERN : *see* SCHULCKENIUS, Adolphus
- GUNDERSLÖFFHOLM (GUNDERSLEVHOLM) : FF 1
- HAARLEM : *passim*  
     bishop of, <2>, 3a, 3b, 4, 6  
     burgomaster of, 1a, 1b  
     Chamber of Rhetoric at, 34a, 70  
     dedications and preface written at, *see* Index of dedications and prefaces/forewords s.v. SCHONAEUS, Cornelius, *and* ROOMAN, Gillis  
     ecclesiastical approbations given at, 2, 3a, 3b, 4, 6  
     *landjewel* at, 34a, 70, A15  
     Latin school at, 1a, 2, 3a, 4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 18a, 18b, 22, 99, DD 1, DD 2, DD 3, A14  
     municipal archives at, 1, 2, 2, 3a, 7, 7, 8, 12, 14, 16a, 21, 21, 27, 30, 36, 39, 51, 61, 63, 64, 71  
     plays performed at, 1a, 2, 3a, 34a
- Rhodian Domini* (= Knights of St John) at, *see* HOG(H)ESTEYN, Philippus ab, *and* WOU, Timan van
- Rijksarchief in Noord-Holland at, 71
- town council of, 1a, 1b, 6, 7, 10, 11, <12>, 13, 16a, 16b, 21, 21, 25, 26a, 26b, 29a, 29b, 29c, 32a, 40, 54
- Zijlconvent at, 1a, 2
- see also* AGGERIUS, Simon; SC(H)REVELIUS, Theodorus; SC(H)RIVERIUS, Petrus; *and* WOU, Gulielmus a
- HALMÁGY (HÁLMAGIU or HÁLMAGEL) : 76
- HAMBURG : DD 4
- HAZERSWOUDE : 8
- HEIDELBERG : 16b, 42
- HOLLAND : 10, 25, 71  
     States of, 10, 20, 25
- HOORN : 96  
     *see also* IUNIUS, Hadrianus
- HÜLS ? : *see* HULSIUS DARTHENUS, Frid.
- ICELAND : FF 1
- KIAELBY SOGN (KELDBY SOGN) : FF 2
- KIJÓW (KIYEV) : HH 1
- LAUSANNE : 91, 102  
     foreword written at, 91 (*see* Index of prefaces/forewords s.v. DE CHAMP-RENAUD, Abraham)
- LEIPZIG : 5
- LENDI(E)DEL : *see* SCHNURR, Balthasar
- LEUVEN, University of : 10, 14
- LEYDEN : 30, 42  
     auction catalogue at, EE 3  
     University of, 10, 25
- LONDON : 86  
     Company of Stationers at, 77  
     foreword written at (?), *see* Index of prefaces/forewords s.v. ENGLISH editor  
     sale catalogue at, 50
- LORRAINE : 26
- LUTHERSTADT-WITTENBERG :  
     Melanchthonhaus at, 24a  
     printers and publishers at, 24a, 59



- MECHELBORG : *A10*  
 MEISSEN : *A6*  
 MIDDLEHILL, Bibliotheca Phillippica at : *71*  
 MØEN (MØN) : *FF 2*
- NAGYBÁNYA (BAIA MARE) : *76*  
 NETHERLANDS : *25, 29, 70, 72, A 6, A 7, A14, A15*  
     Government of, *71*  
     States General of, *72*  
 NIEUWLAND : *see* UTENHOVIUS JR, Karolus  
 NOORDWIJK, Chamber of Rhetoric at : *EE 2, A17*  
     *see also* DOUSA, Janus  
 NORWAY : *FF 1*  
 NUREMBERG : *81*  
 NYKÖPING : *II 1, A10*  
 NYSTAD/UUSIKAUPUNKI : *98*
- OXFORD : *97, <A2>, A4*  
     University of, *97*
- PALATINATE OF THE RHINE : *see* FERDINAND, Count etc., *and* PHILIP, Count etc.  
 PARIS :  
     foreword written at (?), *96 (see Index of prefaces/forewords s.v. FRENCH editor)*  
     registration at, *96*  
     royal approbation given at, *96*  
     royal censor at, *96*  
     Royal Council at, *96*  
     royal privilege given at, *96, 105, 111*  
 POLAND : *HH 1, HH 2*  
 PRAGUE :  
     foreword written at : *97 (see Index of prefaces/forewords s.v. TROTTMANN, Ioannes Henricus)*  
     imprimatur given at, *97*  
     manuscript at, *97, 114*  
     privileges given at, *14, 15, 18a, 18b, 20*  
     University of, *114*
- REGENSBURG, school-theatre at : *62, 87*  
     *see also* PHILIP, Count Palatine of the Rhine etc.  
 ROERMOND : *see* LOM(MIUS), Iacobus  
 ROTTERDAM : *see* BRASSICA, Iacobus
- SAXONY : *A6*  
 STONYHURST : *AA 1, A1*  
 STRASBURG, school-theatre at : *11, 26*  
     *see also* FERDINAND, Count Palatine of the Rhine etc.  
 SWEDEN : *98, II 1*  
 SWITZERLAND : *39*
- THE HAGUE :  
     auction catalogue at, *13, 31*  
     dedication written at, *4, 9 (see Index of dedications s.v. SCHONAEUS, Cornelius)*  
     Dutch National Archives (Algemeen Rijksarchief) at, *20*  
     Rijksarchief in Zuid-Holland, *20*  
     States General at, *72*  
     States of Holland at, *10, 20, 25*  
 THURINGIA : *A6*  
 TRANSYLVANIA : *76*
- UPPER PALATINATE : *87*  
 UPPSALA : *II 1*  
 UTRECHT : *EE 4*  
     *see also* VANDERBURCHIIUS, Adrianus, *and* VOCCINIUS, Ioannes
- VÁRAD, dedication (and foreword) written at : *76 (see Index of dedications and prefaces/forewords s.v. KERTÉSZ SZENCZI, Ábrahám)*  
 VENICE, foreword written at : *95 (see Index of prefaces/forewords s.v. VALVASENSE, Stefano)*  
 VIENNA, Austrian National Archives (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv) at : *90, 93, 99*
- WERNIGERODE : *DD 1*  
 WITTENBERG : *see* LUTHERSTADT-WITTENBERG  
 WROCLAW : *BB 3, A7*
- ZEELAND : *10*  
 ZUID-HOLLAND : *20*  
 ZWOLLE : *34a, A15*

## 3. INDEX OF PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS/BOOKSELLERS\*

*References are to entry numbers*  
*Italicized names refer to the Appendices*  
 The following abbreviations are used :  
     bsr   bookseller  
     pblr   publisher  
     pr     printer

## PART I — ALPHABETIC

ALLDE, Edward (pr). LONDON.

1615 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratotes* : 43

ANDREAE, Johann, *the Younger* (pr). FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN.

1672 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)* : 83

1672 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 84

1672 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum* : 85

AUBRY, Daniel and David (prs). (NEU)HANAU/FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN.

1619 *Amphitheatri Sapientiae Socraticae Ioco-seriae Tomus Posterior* (by Caspar Dornavius) : A 8a

BEHEM, Franz (pr). MAINZ.

1582 *Scopae Latinae* (by Cornelius Loosaeus Callidius) : A 1

BENIER, Arent (pr). KAMPEN.

1629=1639 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)* : 59

1639 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 60

1639 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum* : 61a, 61b

BISHOP, Richard (pr). LONDON.

1652 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratotes* : 75

BOELS, François (bsr). DORDRECHT.

1641 *Witte-broods Kinderen of Bedorve Jongelingen* (by P. Godewyck) : EE 4

BOOGAERT, Willem Symonsz (pr). WORMERVEER.

1649 *Klught van de Boer in 't Kalfs-vel* (by Hub. vander Meers ?) : EE 3

BORCULO, Herman van (pr). UTRECHT.

1600 *Pii Lusus* (by Adrianus Vanderburchius) : A 5

BÖTTCHER, Johann (pr). MAGDEBURG.

1605 *Tobaeus* (by Barthold von Gadenstedt) : DD 1

BUCK, John (pr). CAMBRIDGE.

1632 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratotes* : 57

BUCK, Thomas (pr). CAMBRIDGE.

1632 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratotes* : 57

1635 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratotes* : 58

\* The distinction between publishers and booksellers often seems to be artificial, since almost all publishers in the seventeenth century were also booksellers, and many booksellers were also publishers.

- CAMPEN, Pieter Jansz van (pr). HOORN.  
 1629 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)* : 53  
 1628 *Terenti Christiani Pars Secunda* : 54  
 1628 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum* : 55
- CANIN, Abraham (pr). DORDRECHT.  
 1600 *Cento Ethicus* (by Damasus Blyenburgius) : A 3b
- CANIN, Isaac (pr). DORDRECHT.  
 1600 *Veneres Blyenburgicae sive Amorum Hortus* (by Damasus Blyenburgius) : A 4a
- CLAUSEN, J. (pr). AMSTERDAM.  
 1907 (?) *Cunae Fabula Ludicra* : 98
- COMMELIN(US), Hieronymus (= SAINT ANDRÉ, Pierre de) (pblr). HEIDELBERG.  
 1594 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex, Pseudostratiotae, Elegiarum Liber I, Epigrammatum Liber I* : 16b
- CUBACH, Michael (pblr/bsr). LÜNEBURG.  
 1647 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)* : 66  
 1647 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 67  
 1647 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum* : 68
- DANIEL, Roger (pr). CAMBRIDGE.  
 1632 (?) *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes* : 57  
 1635 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes* : 58
- DEXTER, Robert (bsr). LONDON.  
 1595 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes* : 17  
 1601 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes* : 28
- DIETRICH, Katharina (pr). NUREMBERG.  
 1601 *Daniel* : 27
- ELSENWANGER, Ignaz, *Widow of* (pr). PRAGUE.  
 1797 *Terentius Christianus* : 97
- ELZEVIER, Lowijs (I) (pblr). LEYDEN.  
 1599 *Cento Ethicus* (by Damasus Blyenburgius) : A 3a
- ENSCHEDÉ EN ZONEN, Johannes (pr). HAARLEM.  
 1964 *Ad Puerum Studiosum in commendationem Scholae Harlemaniae* : 99
- EPISCOPIUS, David (pblr). DORDRECHT.  
 1600 *Veneres Blyenburgicae sive Amorum Hortus* (by Damasus Blyenburgius) : A 4a
- ESCH, Hendrick van (pr). DORDRECHT.  
 1641 *Witte-broods Kinderen of Bedorve Jongelingen* (by P. Godewyck) : EE 4
- FIELD, Richard (pr). LONDON.  
 1601 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes* : 28
- FISCHER, Christoph (pr). REGENSBURG.  
 1642 *Daniel, hoc est Comoedia Sacra Idoli Beli destructionem exhibens* : 62
- FISCHER, Jakob (pblr). FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN.  
 1614 *Delitiae C. Poetarum Belgicorum Huius Superiorisque Aevi illustrium, Quarta Pars*  
 (by Janus Grut(h)erus) : A 6
- GREVENBROICH, Gerhard (pr). COLOGNE.  
 1591 *Terentius Christianus utpote comoediis sacris transformatus* : 14  
 1592 *Terentius Christianus utpote comoediis sacris transformatus* : 15  
 1595 *Terentius Christianus duabus comoediis additis* : 18a

- 1595 *Terentius Christianus duabus comoediis auctus* : 18b  
 1596 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex* : 20  
 1599 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex* : 23  
 1602 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 29a, 29b, 29c  
 1603 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum* : 30  
 1604 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex* : 31a, 31b  
 1606 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 32a, 32b  
 1608-1609-1611 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex* : 35a, 35b, 38  
 1609 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum* : 36  
 1612 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 40  
 1614 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex* : 41  
 1614 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum* : 42  
 1618 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 44  
 1618 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum* : 45  
 1620 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex* : 46  
 1628 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum?* : 52  
 1631 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 56  
 GRONENBERG (?), Simon (pr). WITTENBERG.  
 1599 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex* : 24a  
     *Pars Prior Terentii Christiani seu Comoediarum Cornelii Schonaei* : 24b, 24c, 24d  
 1599 *Pars Altera Terentii Christiani seu Comoediarum Cornelii Schonaei, Libellus I Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum* : 26a, 26b  
 GUYOT, Christoffel (pr). LEYDEN.  
 1599 *Cento Ethicus* (by Damasus Blyenburgius) : A 3a  
 HAAKE, Peter (pr). COPENHAGEN.  
 1645 *Josephus* (by Jacob Nielszøn Maern) : FF 2  
 HALL, William (pr). LONDON.  
 1610 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes* : 37  
 HANSELLI, P. (pr). UPPSALA.  
 1876-1877 *Vitulus* (by Christopherus Moraeus) : II 1  
 HAUBOLD, Peter (pblr/bsr). FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN.  
 1652 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)* : 69  
 1652 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 70  
 1652 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum* : 71  
 1672 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)* : 83  
 1672 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 84  
 1672 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum* : 85  
 HAVILAND, Thomas (pr). LONDON.  
 1610 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes* : 37  
 HELLEN, Hans van der (pr). MIDDELBURG.  
 1618 *Sileni Alcibiadis sive Proteos Pars Tertia* (by Jacob Cats) : A 7  
 HEYNS, Zacharias (pblr). AMSTERDAM.  
 1599 *Comoediarum Cornelii Schonaei Altera Pars, Libellus I Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum* : 25  
 HEYNS, Zacharias (pr). ZWOLLE.  
 1607 *Fabula Comica* : 34a, 34b

- HOEVE, Willem van der (pr). GOUDA.  
 1646 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)* : 63a, 63b  
 1646 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 64  
 1646 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum* : 65
- HOFFMANN, Andreas (pblr/bsr). WITTENBERG.  
 1599 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex* : 24a  
*Pars Prior Terentii Christiani seu Comoediarum Cornelii Schonaei* : 24b, 24c, 24d  
 1599 *Pars Altera Terentii Christiani seu Comoediarum Cornelii Schonaei, Libellus I Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum* : 26a, 26b
- HOFFMANN, Nikolaus, the Elder (pr). FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN.  
 1614 *Delitiae C. Poetarum Belgicorum Huius Superiorisque Aevi illustrium, Quarta Pars* (by Janus Grut(h)erus) : A 6
- HÖN, Timotheus (pr). LEIPZIG.  
 1647 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)* : 66  
 1647 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 67  
 1647 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum* : 68
- JANSSENIUS, Joannes (bsr). AMSTERDAM.  
 1613 *Apicula Batava sive Horti Amoris Mellificium* (by Damasus Blyenburgius) : A 4b
- JANSZ, Broer (pr). AMSTERDAM.  
 c. 1615 ? *Lacchelicke Cluchte, Van een Boer die in een Calfs-vel benaeyt was* (by an unknown rhetorician) : EE 1
- JUNG, Johann Adam (pblr/bsr). FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN.  
 1712 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)* : 92a, 92b  
 1712 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 93  
 1712 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum* : 94
- KALCKHOVEN, Jost (pblr/bsr). COLOGNE.  
 1652 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)* : 72  
 1652 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 73  
 1652 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum* : 74
- KERTÉSZ SZENCZI, Ábrahám (pr). VÁRAD (ORADEA).  
 1656 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae* : 76
- KIRCHNER, Ambrosius (II) (pblr/bsr). MAGDEBURG.  
 1605 *Tobaeus* (by Barthold von Gadenstedt) : DD 1
- KRUSE, Henrich (pr). COPENHAGEN.  
 1635 *Juva Jova* (by Erick Erickssøn Broby) : FF 1
- LAMRINCK, Jan (pr). FRANEKER.  
 1619 *Lacchelijcke Cluchte, Van een Boer die in een Calfs-vel benaeyt was* (by an unknown rhetorician) : EE 2
- LAURENSZ, Hendrick (pblr/bsr). AMSTERDAM.  
 1629 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)* : 53  
 1628 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 54  
 1628 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum* : 55  
 1629 = 1639 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)* : 59  
 1639 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 60  
 1639 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum* : 61a, 61b  
 1646 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)* : 63a, 63b

- 1646 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 64  
 1646 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum* : 65  
 LE PREUX, Jean (pr). BERNE.  
 1611 *Comoediae Selectiores ex Terentio Christiano* : 39  
 LICHFIELD, Anne (pr). OXFORD.  
 1660 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratotes* : 77  
 LOËUS, Hendrik (pr). ANTWERP.  
 1572 *Naaman* : 4  
 MITZLER DE KOLOF, Wawrzyniec / CADETCORPS (pr.). WARSAW.  
 1768 *Józef Starozakonny* (by Józef Minasowicz) : HH 1  
 1773 *Tabasz albo Tobiasz Stary* (by Józef Minasowicz) : HH 2  
 MORETUS, Jan (pr). ANTWERP.  
 1598 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex* : 22  
 MULLER, Harmen Jansz (pr). AMSTERDAM.  
 1576 *Leges in Gymnasio Harlemensi et Amsterodamensi ...* : 6  
 NYON, Pierre-Michel, *the Younger* (pblr/bsr). PARIS.  
 1779 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae* : 96  
 PLANTIN, Christopher (pr). ANTWERP.  
 1570 *Nehemias. De Instauratione Hierosolymae Comoedia Sacra* : 2  
 1580 *Tobaeus* : 7  
 1581 (July) *Saulus Conversus* : 8  
 1581 (August) *Naaman* : 9  
 1581/82 ? *Rudimenta Grammatices (Latinae) ?* : 10  
 POLICH, Johann Michael (pr/bsr ?). FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN.  
 1691 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)* : 87  
 1691 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda* : 88  
 1691 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum* : 89  
 ROBINSON, Robert (pr). LONDON.  
 1595 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratotes* : 17  
 ROOMAN, Gillis (pr). HAARLEM.  
 1587 *Rudimenta Grammatices (Latinae) ?* : 12  
 1590 *Iosephus* : 13  
 1592 *Sacrae Comoediae Sex, Pseudostratotes, Elegiarum Liber I, Epigrammatum Liber I* : 16a  
 1594 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex, Pseudostratotes, Elegiarum Liber I, Epigrammatum Liber I* : 16b  
 1596 *Daniel* : 19  
 1596 *Duae Fabulae Iocosae atque Ludicrae : Cunae et Vitulus* : 21  
 1598 *Maiale de Certo Vitae Genere Deligendo* (by Iacobus Brassica) : A 2  
 1599 *Comoediarum Cornelii Schonaei Altera Pars, Libellus I Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum* : 25  
 SAINT ANDRÉ, Pierre de. See COMMELIN(US), Hieronymus.  
 SAU(E)R, Johannes (pr). FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN.  
 1607 *Triumphus Christi* (by Balthasar Schnurr) : DD 2  
 1607 *Pseudostratotes* (by Balthasar Schnurr) : DD 3  
 SCHERF, Balthasar (pr). ALTDORF.  
 1624 *Josephus* : 50

SCHLEICH, Klemens (pblr). FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN.

1619 *Amphitheatri Sapientiae Socraticae Ioco-seriae Tomus Posterior* (by Caspar Dornavius): A 8a

SEYLER, Jakob Gottfried (pblr). FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN.

1670 *Amphitheatri Sapientiae Socraticae Joco-seriae Tomus Posterior* (by Caspar Dornavius): A 8b

SILVIUS, Willem (pr). ANTWERP.

1569-1570 *Tobaeus, Carminum Libellus*: 1a, 1b

1570-1571 *Saulus Conversus*: 3a, 3b

SNODHAM, Thomas (pr). LONDON.

1620 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes*: 47

1625 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes*: 51

STATIONERS, Company of (pblr). LONDON.

1607 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes*: 33

1610 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes*: 37

1615 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes*: 43

1620 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes*: 47

1625 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes*: 51

1652 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes*: 75

1660 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes*: 77

1674 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes*: 86

1691 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes*: 90

SZENCZI, Ábrahám. See KERTÉSZ SZENCZI, Ábrahám.

TOURNAY, Jasper (pr). GOUDA.

1623 *Grammatica (Latina)*: 49

TSCHIFFELI, Daniel (pr). BERNE.

1706 *Fabula Ludicra, cui Nomen Cunae; Epigrammata* (Selection): 91

VALVASENSE, Stefano (pr). VENICE.

1739 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoedia Sacra Naaman*: 95

WECHEL, Andreas, *Heirs of (Typi Wecheliani)*. See AUBRY, Daniel and David, and SCHLEICH, Clemens.

WINTER, Johan(nes) (pr). ÅBO.

1670 *Terentii Christiani Josephus sive Comoedia Josephi*: 78

1670 *Terentii Christiani Daniel sive Comoedia Danielis*: 79

1670 *Terentii Christiani Triumphus Christi sive Comoedia de Triumpho Christi*: 80

1670 *Terentii Christiani Pentecoste sive Comoedia Pentecostes*: 81

1670 *Comoedia Dyscoli*: 82

WITTE, Hans (pr). GREIFSWALD.

1623 *Triumphus Christi seu Comoedia sacra de Resurrectione et Manifestatione Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi*: 48

WYRIOT, Nikolaus (pr). STRASBURG.

1572 ? *Tobaeus*: 5

1583 *Tobaeus*: 11

ZUNNER, Johann David, the Younger, *Heirs of* (pblrs/bsrs). FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN.

1712 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)*: 92a, 92b

1712 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda*: 93

1712 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum*: 94

## PRINTERS UNIDENTIFIED

- 1607 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes*. Publisher : The Stationers' Company, London : 33
- 1616 *Zwo Neue Lustige und Kurtzweilige Bawr Comoedien, Die eine genandt Vitulus. Die Ander Scriba* : DD 4
- 1652 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)*. Publisher : Peter Haubold, Frankfurt-am-Main : 69
- 1652 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda*. Publisher : Peter Haubold, Frankfurt-am-Main : 70
- 1652 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum*. Publisher : Peter Haubold, Frankfurt-am-Main : 71
- 1652 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)*. Publisher : Jost Kalckhoven, Cologne : 72 (87)
- 1652 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda*. Publisher : Jost Kalckhoven, Cologne : 73 (88)
- 1652 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum*. Publisher : Jost Kalckhoven, Cologne : 74 (89)
- 1674 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes*. Publisher : The Stationers' Company, London : 86
- 1691 *Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes*. Publisher : The Stationers' Company, London : 90
- 1712 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)*. Publishers : the Heirs of Johann David Zunner Jr and Johann Adam Jung, Frankfurt-am-Main : 92a, 92b
- 1712 *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda*. Publishers : the Heirs of Johann David Zunner Jr and Johann Adam Jung, Frankfurt-am-Main : 93
- 1712 *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum*. Publishers : the Heirs of Johann David Zunner Jr and Johann Adam Jung, Frankfurt-am-Main : 94
- 1779 *Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae*. Publisher : Pierre-Michel Nyon Jr, Paris : 96

## PART II — GEOGRAPHICAL

## ÅBO.

Winter, Johan(nes) (pr). 1670 : 78, 79, 80, 81, 82

## ALTDORF.

Scherf, Balthasar (pr). 1624 : 50

## AMSTERDAM.

Clausen, J. (pr). 1907 ? : 98

Heyns, Zacharias (pblr). 1599 : 25

Janssenius, Joannes (bsr). 1613 : A 4b

Jansz, Broer (pr). c. 1615 ? : EE 1

Laurensz, Hendrick (pblr/bsr). 1628-46 : 53, 54, 55, 59, 60, 61a, 61b, 63a, 63b, 64, 65

Muller, Harmen Jansz (pr). 1576 : 6

## ANTWERP.

Loëus, Hendrik (pr). 1572 : 4

Moretus, Jan (pr). 1598 : 22

Plantin, Christopher (pr). 1570-81/82 ? : 2, 7, 8, 9, 10

Silvius, Willem (pr). 1569-71 : 1a, 1b, 3a, 3b



## BERNE.

- Le Preux, Jean (pr). 1611 : 39  
 Tschiffeli, Daniel (pr). 1706 : 91

## CAMBRIDGE.

- Buck, John (pr). 1632 : 57  
 Buck, Thomas (pr). 1632-35 : 57, 58  
 Daniel, Roger (pr). 1632-35 : 57, 58

## COLOGNE.

- Grevenbroich, Gerhard (pr). 1591-1631 : 14, 15, 18a, 18b, 20, 23, 29a, 29b, 29c, 30,  
 31a, 31b, 32a, 32b, 35a, 35b, 36, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 52, 56  
 Kalckhoven, Jost (pblr/bsr). 1652 : 72, 73, 74

## COPENHAGEN.

- Haake, Peter (pr). 1645 : FF 2  
 Kruse, Henrich (pr). 1635 : FF 1

## DORDRECHT.

- Boels, François (bsr). 1641 : EE 4  
 Canin, Abraham (pr). 1600 : A 3b  
 Canin, Isaac (pr). 1600 : A 4a  
 Episcopus, David (pblr). 1600 : A 4a  
 Esch, Hendrick van (pr). 1641 : EE 4

## FRANEKER.

- Lamrinck, Jan (pr). 1619 : EE 2

## FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN.

- Andreae, Johann, *the Younger* (pr). 1672 : 83, 84, 85  
 Aubry, Daniel and David (prs). 1619 : A 8a  
 Fischer, Jakob (pblr). 1614 : A 6  
 Haubold, Peter (pblr/bsr). 1652-72 : 69, 70, 71, 83, 84, 85  
 Hoffmann, Nikolaus, *the Elder* (pr). 1614 : A 6  
 Jung, Johann Adam (pblr/bsr). 1712 : 92a, 92b, 93, 94  
 Polich, Johann Michael (pr/bsr ?). 1691 : 87, 88, 89  
 Sau(e)r, Johannes (pr). 1607 : DD 2, DD 3  
 Schleich, Klemens (pblr). 1619 : A 8a  
 Seyler, Jakob Gottfried (pblr). 1670 : A 8b  
 Wechel, Andreas, *Heirs of (Typi Wecheliani)*. See Aubry, Daniel and David, and  
 Schleich, Klemens  
 Zunner, Johann David, *the Younger, Heirs of* (pblrs/bsrs). 1712 : 92a, 92b, 93, 94

## GOUDA.

- Hoeve, Willem van der (pr). 1646 : 63a, 63b, 64, 65  
 Tournay, Jasper (pr). 1623 : 49

## GREIFSWALD.

- Witte, Hans (pr). 1623 : 48

## HAARLEM.

- Enschedé en Zonen, Johannes (pr). 1964 : 99  
 Rooman, Gillis (pr). 1587-99 : 12, 13, 16a, 16b, 19, 21, 25, A 2

## HAMBURG ?

- Printer unidentified*. 1616 : DD 4

## HANAU. See (NEU)HANAU

## HEIDELBERG.

Commelin(us), Hieronymus (= Saint André, Pierre de) (pblr). 1594 : 16b

## HOORN.

Campen, Pieter Jansz van (pr). 1628-29 : 53, 54, 55

## KAMPEN.

Benier, Arent (pr). 1639 : 59, 60, 61a, 61b

## LEIPZIG.

Hön, Timotheus (pr). 1647 : 66, 67, 68

## LEYDEN.

*Elzevier, Lowijs* (I) (pblr). 1599 : A 3a

*Guyot, Christoffel* (pr). 1599 : A 3a

## LONDON.

Allde, Edward (pr). 1615 : 43

Bishop, Richard (pr). 1652 : 75

Dexter, Robert (bsr). 1595-1601 : 17, 28

Field, Richard (pr). 1601 : 28

Hall, William (pr). 1610 : 37

Haviland, Thomas (pr). 1610 : 37

Robinson, Robert (pr). 1595 : 17

Snodham, Thomas (pr). 1620-25 : 47, 51

Stationers, Company of (pblr). 1607-91 : 33, 37, 43, 47, 51, 75, 77, 86, 90

## LÜNEBURG.

Cubach, Michael (pblr/bsr). 1647 : 66, 67, 68

## MAGDEBURG.

*Böttcher, Johann* (pr). 1605 : DD 1

*Kirchner, Ambrosius* (II) (pblr/bsr). 1605 : DD 1

## MAINZ.

*Behem, Franz* (pr). 1582 : A 1

## MIDDELBURG.

*Hellen, Hans van der* (pr). 1618 : A 7

## (NEU)HANAU.

*Aubry, Daniel and David* (prs). 1619 : A 8a

## NUREMBERG.

Dietrich, Katharina (pr). 1601 : 27

## OXFORD.

Lichfield, Anne (pr). 1660 : 77

## PARIS.

Nyon, Pierre-Michel, *the Younger* (pblr/bsr). 1779 : 96

## PRAGUE.

Elsenwanger, Ignaz, *Widow of* (pr). 1797 : 97

## REGENSBURG.

Fischer, Christoph (pr). 1642 : 62

## STRASBURG.

Wyriot, Nikolaus (pr). 1572?-83 : 5, 11

## UPPSALA.

*Hanselli, P.* (pr). 1876-77 : II 1

## UTRECHT.

*Borculo, Herman van* (pr). 1600 : A 5

## VÁRAD (ORADEA).

Kertész Szenczi, Ábrahám (pr). 1656 : 76

## VENICE.

Valvasense, Stefano (pr). 1739 : 95

## WARSAW.

*Mitzler de Kolof, Wawrzyniec / Cadetcorps* (pr). 1768-73 : HH 1, HH 2

## WITTENBERG.

Gronenberg (?), Simon (pr). 1599 : 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 26a, 26b

Hoffmann, Andreas (pblr/bsr). 1599 : 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 26a, 26b

## WORMERVEER.

*Boogaert, Willem Symonsz* (pr). 1649 : EE 3

## ZWOLLE.

Heyns, Zacharias (pr). 1607 : 34a, 34b

#### 4. INDEX OF PLACES, WHERE EDITIONS OF PLAYS AND POEMS BY SCHONAEUS WERE PRINTED AND/OR PUBLISHED

*References are to entry numbers*

## ÅBO.

*Comoedia Dyscoli*, Johan(nes) Winter, 1670 : 82

*Terentii Christiani Daniel sive Comoedia Danielis*, Johan(nes) Winter, 1670 : 79

*Terentii Christiani Josephus sive Comoedia Josephi*, Johan(nes) Winter, 1670 : 78

*Terentii Christiani Pentecoste sive Comoedia Pentecostes*, Johan(nes) Winter, 1670 : 81

*Terentii Christiani Triumphus Christi sive Comoedia de Triumpho Christi*, Johan(nes) Winter, 1670 : 80

## ALTDORF.

*Josephus*, Balthasar Scherf, 1624 : 50

## AMSTERDAM.

*Comoediarum Cornelii Schonaei Altera Pars, Libellus I Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum*, Zacharias Heyns, 1599 : 25

*Cunae Fabula Ludicra*, J. Clausen, 1907 ? : 98

*Leges in Gymnasio Harlemensi et Amsterodamensi ...*, Harmen Jansz Muller, 1576 : 6

*Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum*, Hendrick Laurensz, 1628-1639-1646 : 55-61a, 61b-65

*Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda*, Hendrick Laurensz, 1628-1639-1646 : 54-60-64

*Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)*, Hendrick Laurensz, 1629-1629=1639-1646 : 53-59-63a, 63b

## ANTWERP.

*Carminum Libellus*, Willem Silvius, 1569-70 : 1a, 1b

*Naaman*, Hendrik Loëus, 1572; Christopher Plantin, 1581 : 4; 9

*Nehemias. De Instaurazione Hierosolymae Comoedia Sacra*, Christopher Plantin, 1570 : 2

- Rudimenta Grammatices (Latinae)?*, Christopher Plantin?, 1581/82 ? : 10  
*Saulus Conversus*, Willem Silvius, 1570-71; Christopher Plantin, 1581 : 3a,3b; 8  
*Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex*, Jan Moretus, 1598 : 22  
*Tobaeus*, Willem Silvius, 1569-70; Christopher Plantin, 1580 : 1a,1b; 7

## BERNE.

- Comoediae Selectiores ex Terentio Christiano*, Jean Le Preux, 1611 : 39  
*Fabula Ludicra, cui Nomen Cunae; Epigrammata* (Selection), Daniel Tschiffeli, 1706 : 91

## CAMBRIDGE.

- Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratiotes*, John and Thomas Buck, and/or Roger Daniel, 1632-1635 : 57-58

## COLOGNE.

- Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum*, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1603-1609-1614-1618-1628; Jost Kalckhoven, 1652 : 30-36-42-45-52; 74  
*Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda*, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1602-1606-1612-1618-1631; Jost Kalckhoven, 1652 : 29a,29b,29c-32a,32b-40-44-56; 73  
*Terentius Christianus duabus comoediis additis/auctus*, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1595 : 18a-18b  
*Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex*, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1596-1599-1604-1608-1609-1611-1614-1620; Jost Kalckhoven, 1652 : 20-23-31a,31b-35a-35b-38-41-46; 72  
*Terentius Christianus utpote comoediis sacris transformatus*, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1591-1592 : 14-15

## FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN.

- Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum*, Peter Haubold, 1652; Johann Andreae Jr & Peter Haubold, 1672; Johann Michael Polich, 1691; Johann Adam Jung and the Heirs of Johann David Zunner Jr, 1712 : 71; 85; 89; 94  
*Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda*, Peter Haubold, 1652; Johann Andreae Jr & Peter Haubold, 1672; Johann Michael Polich, 1691; Johann Adam Jung and the Heirs of Johann David Zunner Jr, 1712 : 70; 84; 88; 93  
*Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)*, Peter Haubold, 1652; Johann Andreae Jr & Peter Haubold, 1672; Johann Michael Polich, 1691; Johann Adam Jung and the Heirs of Johann David Zunner Jr, 1712 : 69; 83; 87; 92a,92b

## GOUDA.

- Grammatica (Latina)*, Jasper Tournay, 1623 : 49  
*Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum*, Willem van der Hoeve, 1646 : 65  
*Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda*, Willem van der Hoeve, 1646 : 64  
*Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)*, Willem van der Hoeve, 1646 : 63a,63b

## GREIFSWALD.

- Triumphus Christi seu Comoedia sacra de Resurrectione et Manifestatione Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi*, Hans Witte, 1623 : 48

## HAARLEM.

- Ad Puerum Studiosum in commendationem Scholae Harlemianae*, Johannes Enschedé en Zonen, 1964 : 99

- Comoediarum Cornelii Schonaei Altera Pars, Libellus I Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum*, Gillis Rooman, 1599 : 25
- Daniel*, Gillis Rooman, 1596 : 19
- Duae Fabulae Iocosae atque Ludicrae : Cunae et Vitulus*, Gillis Rooman, 1596 : 21
- Iosephus*, Gillis Rooman, 1590 : 13
- Rudimenta Grammatices (Latinae) ?*, Gillis Rooman ?, 1587 : 12
- Sacrae Comoediae Sex, Pseudostratitotae, Elegiarum Liber I, Epigrammatum Liber I / Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex, Pseudostratitotae, Elegiarum Liber I, Epigrammatum Liber I*, Gillis Rooman, 1592-1594 : 16a-16b
- HEIDELBERG.
- Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex, Pseudostratitotae, Elegiarum Liber I, Epigrammatum Liber I*, Hieronymus Commelin(us), 1594 : 16b
- HOORN.
- Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum*, Pieter Jansz van Campen, 1628 : 55
- Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda*, Pieter Jansz van Campen, 1628 : 54
- Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)*, Pieter Jansz van Campen, 1629 : 53
- KAMPEN.
- Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum*, Arent Benier, 1639 : 61a,61b
- Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda*, Arent Benier, 1639 : 60
- Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)*, Arent Benier, 1629=1639 : 59
- LEIPZIG.
- Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum*, Timotheus Hön, 1647 : 68
- Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda*, Timotheus Hön, 1647 : 67
- Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)*, Timotheus Hön, 1647 : 66
- LONDON.
- Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratitotes*, Robert Robinson & Robert Dexter, 1595; Richard Field & Robert Dexter, 1601; The Stationers' Company, 1607; William Hall and Thomas Haviland & The Stationers' Company, 1610; Edward Alde & The Stationers' Company, 1615; Thomas Snodham & The Stationers' Company, 1620, 1625; Richard Bishop & The Stationers' Company, 1652; The Stationers' Company, 1674; The Stationers' Company, 1691 : 17; 28; 33; 37; 43; 47; 51; 75; 86; 90
- LÜNEBURG.
- Lucubrationum Pars Tertia, Liber Elegiarum et alter Epigrammatum*, Michael Cubach, 1647 : 68
- Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda*, Michael Cubach, 1647 : 67
- Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae (Sex)*, Michael Cubach, 1647 : 66
- NUREMBERG.
- Daniel*, Katharina Dietrich, 1601 : 27
- OXFORD.
- Terentius Christianus sive Comoediae Duae, Pseudostratitotes*, Anne Lichfield, 1660 : 77
- PARIS.
- Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae*, Pierre-Michel Nyon Jr, 1779 : 96

## PRAGUE.

*Terentius Christianus*, Widow of Ignaz Elsenwanger, 1797 : 97

## REGENSBURG.

*Daniel, hoc est Comoedia Sacra Idoli Beli destructionem exhibens*, Christoph Fischer, 1642 : 62

## STRASBURG.

*Tobaeus*, Nikolaus Wyriot, 1572?-1583 : 5-11

## VÁRAD (ORADEA)

*Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae*, Ábrahám Kertész Szenczi, 1656 : 76

## VENICE.

*Terentius Christianus seu Comoedia Sacra Naaman*, Stefano Valvasense, 1739 : 95

## WITTENBERG.

*Pars Altera Terentii Christiani seu Comoediarum Cornelii Schonaei, Libellus I Elegiarum et Alter Epigrammatum*, Simon Gronenberg (?) & Andreas Hoffmann, 1599 : 26a, 26b

*Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex / Pars Prior Terentii Christiani seu Comoediarum Cornelii Schonaei*, Simon Gronenberg (?) & Andreas Hoffmann, 1599 : 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d

## ZWOLLE.

*Fabula Comica*, Zacharias Heyns, 1607 : 34a, 34b

## 5. INDEX OF LUCUBRATIONS BY SCHONAEUS

*References are to entry numbers*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>AD PUERUM STUDIOSUM IN COMMENDATIONEM SCHOLAE HARLEMIANAE</i> : 99   | 30, 36, 42, 45, 52, 55, 61a, 61b, 65, 68, 71, 74, 85, 89, 94  |
| <i>ANANIAS</i> : 29a, 29b, 29c, 32a, 32b, 40, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 76, 84, 88, 93                                  | <i>EPIGRAMMATUM LIBER</i> : 16a, 16b, 25, 26a, 26b, 30, 36, 42, 45, 55, 61a, 61b, 65, 68, 71, 74, 85, 89, 91 (selection), 94  |
| <i>BAPTISTES</i> : 30, 36, 39, 42, 45, 52, 55, 61a, 61b, 65, 68, 71, 74, 76, 85, 89, 94                                       | <i>FABULA COMICA</i> : 34a, 34b   |
| see also Index of Translations/Adaptations  | <i>IOSEPHUS</i> : 13, 16a, 16b, 18a, 18b, 20, 22, 23, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 31a, 31b, 35a, 35b, 38, 41, 46, 50, 53, 59, 63a, 63b, 66, 69, 72, 76, 78, 83, 87, 92a, 92b, 97  |
| <i>CARMINUM LIBELLUS</i> : 1a, 1b   | see also Index of Translations/Adaptations  |
| <i>CUNAE</i> : 21, 25, 26a, 26b, 30, 36, 42, 45, 52, 55, 61a, 61b, 65, 68, 71, 74, 85, 89, 91, 94, 98                         | <i>IUDITHA</i> : 16a, 16b, 17, 18a, 18b, 20, 22, 23, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 28, 31a, 31b, 33, 35a, 35b, 37, 38, 41, 43, 46, 47, 51, 53, 57, 58, 59, 63a, 63b, 66, 69, 72, 75, 76, 77, 83, 86, 87, 90, 92a, 92b, 97 |
| <i>DANIEL</i> : 19, 25, 26a, 26b, 27, 29a, 29b, 29c, 32a, 32b, 39, 40, 44, 54, 56, 60, 62, 64, 67, 70, 73, 76, 79, 84, 88, 93 | see also Index of Translations/Adaptations  |
| <i>DYSCOLI</i> : 30, 36, 39, 42, 45, 52, 55, 61a, 61b, 65, 68, 71, 74, 82, 85, 89, 94   | <i>LEGES (SCHOLASTICAE)</i> : 6   |
| see also Index of Translations/Adaptations  |   |
| <i>ELEGIARUM LIBER</i> : 16a, 16b, 25, 26a, 26b,  |   |

- NAAMAN* : 4, 9, 14, 15, 16a, 16b, 18a, 18b, 20, 22, 23, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 31a, 31b, 35a, 35b, 38, 41, 46, 53, 59, 63a, 63b, 66, 69, 72, 76, 83, 87, 92a, 92b, 95, 96, 97  
*see also* Index of Translations/Adaptations
- NEHEMIAS* : 2, 14, 15, 16a, 16b, 18a, 18b, 20, 22, 23, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 31a, 31b, 35a, 35b, 38, 41, 46, 53, 59, 63a, 63b, 66, 69, 72, 76, 83, 87, 92a, 92b, 97  
*see also* Index of Translations/Adaptations
- PENTECOSTE* : 29a, 29b, 29c, 32a, 32b, 39, 40, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 76, 81, 84, 88, 93
- PSEUDOSTRATIOTAE* : 16a, 16b, 17, 25, 26a, 26b, 28, 30, 33, 36, 37, 42, 43, 45, 47, 51, 52, 55, 57, 58, 61a, 61b, 65, 68, 71, 74, 75, 77, 85, 86, 89, 90, 94, 96  
*see also* Index of Translations/Adaptations
- RUDIMENTA GRAMMATICES (LATINAE)/GRAMMATICA (LATINA) ?* : 10, 12, 49
- SAULUS (CONVERSUS)* : 3a, 3b, 8, 14, 15, 16a, 16b, 18a, 18b, 20, 22, 23, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 31a, 31b, 35a, 35b, 38, 41, 46, 53, 59, 63a, 63b, 66, 69, 72, 76, 83, 87, 92a, 92b, 95, 96, 97, 92a, 92b, 97  
*see also* Index of Translations/Adaptations
- SUSANNA* : 25, 26a, 26b, 29a, 29b, 29c, 32a, 32b, 40, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 76, 84, 88, 93
- TOBAEUS* : 1a, 1b, 5, 7, 11, 14, 15, 16a, 16b, 17, 18a, 18b, 20, 22, 23, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 28, 31a, 31b, 33, 35a, 35b, 37, 38, 41, 43, 46, 47, 51, 53, 57, 58, 59, 63a, 63b, 66, 69, 72, 75, 76, 77, 83, 86, 87, 90, 92a, 92b, 96, 97  
*see also* Index of Translations/Adaptations
- TRIUMPHUS CHRISTI* : 25, 26a, 26b, 29a, 29b, 29c, 32a, 32b, 39, 40, 44, 48, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 76, 80, 84, 88, 93  
*see also* Index of Translations/Adaptations
- TYPHUS* : 29a, 29b, 29c, 32a, 32b, 40, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 76, 84, 88, 93
- VITULUS* : 21, 25, 26a, 26b, 30, 36, 42, 45, 52, 55, 61a, 61b, 65, 68, 71, 74, 85, 89, 94, 96  
*see also* Index of Translations/Adaptations

## 6. INDEX OF TRANSLATIONS/ADAPTATIONS AND TRANSLATORS/ADAPTORS OF PLAYS BY SCHONAEUS

*References are to entry numbers*

### TRANSLATIONS/ADAPTATIONS :

*BAPTISTES* : BB 5  
*DYSCOLI* : EE 4  
*IOSEPHUS* : AA 6, BB 4, FF 2, HH 1  
*IUDITHA* : AA 7, AA 8  
*NAAMAN* : AA 1, AA 2, BB 3  
*NEHEMIAS* : AA 4  
*PSEUDOSTRATIOTAE* : AA 9, DD 3  
*SAULUS (CONVERSUS)* : AA 5, BB 1  
*TOBAEUS* : AA 3, DD 1, FF 1, HH 2  
*TRIUMPHUS CHRISTI* : BB 2, DD 2, GG 1  
*VITULUS* : CC 1, DD 4, EE 1, EE 2, EE 3, II 1

### TRANSLATORS/ADAPTORS :

ANONYMOUS : AA 1, AA 2, AA 3, AA 4, AA 5, AA 6, AA 7, AA 8, BB 1, BB 4, BB 5, DD 4, EE 1, EE 2, EE 3  
 BROBY, Erick Ericksson : FF 1  
 CHAMP-RENAUD, Abraham de : GG 1  
 GADENSTEDT, Barthold von : DD 1  
 GERLACH, Elias : BB 2  
 GODEWYCK, P. : EE 4  
 MAERN, Jacob Nielszøn : FF 2  
 MAJOR, E. : BB 3  
 MINASOWICZ, Józef : HH 1, HH 2  
 MORAEUS, Christopherus : CC 1, II 1  
 SCHNURR, Balthasar : DD 2, DD 3  
 WILLIAMS, John : AA 9

# 7. INDEX OF COMMENDATORY AND LAUDATORY POETS IN SCHONAEUS'S WORKS

*References are to entry numbers*

AGGERIUS (Harlemensis), Simon :

*Ad Cornelium Schonaeum (amicum suum familiarem) Dimetri* (41/40 ll.): 16a, 16b, 20, 22, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d

APHERDIANUS, Petrus :

*Ad puerum philomusum hexasticon* (6 ll.): 6

*Ogdoastichon ad studiosam iuventutem* (8 ll.): 4

ASSENDELPHIUS, Gulielmus :

*Epigramma, in commendationem auctoris* (16 ll.): 19, 22, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 27

CARPENTERIUS, Petrus :

*Acrostichis* (8 ll.): 19, 27

DALE, Cornelius à :

*In comoedias Cor. Schonaei* (6 ll.): 40, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 76, 84, 88, 93, 97

EUFRENIUS, Albertus :

*Epigramma* (6 ll.): 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 84, 88, 93

HOGHESTEYN, Philippus (Haecmundanus) ab :

*(Epigramma) ad lectorem* (10 ll.): 1a, 1b

HULSIUS DARTHENUS, Frid. :

*Octastichon in castam Terentii renati linguam* (8 ll.): 14, 15, 20, 22, 23, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 31a, 96

IUNIUS (Hornanus), Hadrianus :

*Ad Cornelium Sc(h)onaeum in patriae laudem Acrostichis* (9 ll.): 4, 9, 16a, 16b, 20, 22, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d

*Ad eundem in argumentum comoediae (sc. Naamanis) (Epigramma)* (26 ll.): 4, 9, 16a, 16b, 22, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 96

*Hexastichon sub persona auctoris* (6 ll.): 1a, 1b, 7, 11, 14, 15, 16a, 16b, 20, 22, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 84, 88, 93

KETELIUS, Cornelius Iacobaei :

Σκάζοβ (21 ll.): 4

LOM(MIUS) (Ruraemundanus/Ruremundensis), Iacobus :

*Aliud* (= *In Terentium Christianum*) (4 ll.): 15, 18b, 20, 23, 31a, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 84, 88, 93, 97

*In Terentium Christianum* (14 ll.): 15, 18a, 18b, 20, 22, 23, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 31a, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 84, 88, 93, 97

LOOS(AEUS) CALLIDIUS, Cornelius :

*Distichon. Quis singulis comoediis scopus* (2 ll.): 14, 15

*Epigramma* (10 ll.): 22, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d

*Tetrastichon in Terentii renovati pietatem* (4 ll.): 14, 15, 20, 22, 23, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 31a

MYLIUS, Arnoldus Arn. F. Birckmannus :

*Cl. D. Cornelio Schonaeo Goudano Ode* (20 ll.): 29a, 29b, 29c, 32a, 32b, 40, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 84, 88, 93



SC(H)ONAEUS, Cornelius :

*Ad puerum philomusum hexasticon* (6 ll.) : 6

SC(H)REVELIUS (Harlemensis), Theodorus :

*Acrostichis* (8 ll.) : 19, 27

*Ad Cornelium Schonaeum comicum* (14 ll.) : 25, 26a, 26b, 29a, 29b, 29c, 32a, 32b, 40, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 84, 88, 93, 97

*Argumentum in Baptisten, carmine heroico redditum* (17 ll.) : 30, 36, 39, 42, 45, 55, 61a, 61b, 65, 74, 76, 89, 94

*Epigramma in tertiam Lucubrationum Cornelii Schonaei partem* (20 ll.) : 30, 36, 42, 45, 55, 61a, 61b, 65, 74, 89, 94

SC(H)RIVERIUS (Harlemensis), Petrus :

*Ad Cornelium Schonaeum Goudanum, gymnasiarcham Harlemensem, olim praeceptorem suum* (38 ll.) : 25, 26a, 26b, 29a, 29b, 29c, 32a, 32b, 40, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 84, 88, 93, 97 (36 ll.)

*Ad Cornelium Schonaeum, praeceptorem olim suum* (26 ll.) : 30, 36, 42, 45, 55, 61a, 61b, 65, 74, 89, 94

SCHULCKENIUS (Geldriensis), Adolphus :

*Benevolo lectori* (18 ll.) : 29a, 29b, 29c, 32a, 32b, 40, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 76, 84, 88, 93, 97

*Eidem. Terentius Christianus. Anagramma(tismos). En tutare sinus Christi* (11 ll.) : 29a, 29b, 29c, 32a, 32b, 40, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 84, 88, 93

SOVVIUS, Simon :

*Ad puerum philomusum hexasticon* (6 ll.) : 6

UTENHOVIUS (Neochthon), Karolus :

*Ex Allusionum libro 3 ad easdem virgines* (8 ll.) : 18a, 18b, 20

*In Publii comoedias Terentii, totidemque Cornelii Schonaei dramata ad Annam Palantiam et Camillam Iambici extemporales* (15/21 ll.) : 18a, 18b

VOCINIUS, Ioannes :

*Epigramma ad libelli authorem* (8 ll.) : 1a, 1b

WOU (Harlemensis), Gulielmus a :

*(Aliud) Distichon* (2 ll.) : 19, 20, 27

*Tetrastichon (de Cornelio Schonaeo)* (4 ll.) : 19, 20, 27

## 8. INDEX OF DEDICATIONS AND PREFACES/FOREWORDS IN SCHONAEUS'S WORKS

*References are to entry numbers*

### DEDICATIONS :

Gerardus GREVENBRUCH to Iacobus CHIMARRHAES : 29c (Cologne, 1 September 1602), 32b, 40, 44, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67, 70, 73, 84, 88, 93 (Cologne, 8 September 1606)

Ábrahám KERTÉSZ SZENCZI to Stephanus FEKETE, Alexander KASZA, and Franciscus PETRI : 76 (undated (Várad, 1656))

Cornelius LOOSAEUS CALLIDIUS to FERDINANDUS and PHILIPPUS : 14, 15, 18a, 18b, 20, 23, 31a (Cologne, 1 July 1591)

- Cornelius SCHONAEUS to Philippus Haecmundanus AB HOGESTEYN : 3a, 3b, 8 (Haarlem, 2 April 1570)
- Cornelius SCHONAEUS to Gerardus Franciscus KEGELINGUS : 19, 27 (Haarlem, 1 January 1596)
- Cornelius SCHONAEUS to Cornelius VANDER MIIL : 4 (The Hague, 7 January 1572)
- Cornelius SCHONAEUS to Eugenius PEREBOMIUS : 16a, 16b, 25, 26a, 26b, 30, 36, 42, 45, 55, 61a, 61b, 65, 68, 71, 74, 85, 89, 94 (undated <Haarlem, c. August 1592>)
- Cornelius SCHONAEUS to Ioannes SURENUS : 1a, 1b (Haarlem, 1 July 1568)
- Cornelius SCHONAEUS to the Gouda TOWN COUNCIL : 4, 9 (The Hague, 7 January 1572), 16a, 16b (Haarlem, 4 August 1592)
- Cornelius SCHONAEUS to the Haarlem TOWN COUNCIL : 1a, 1b, 7, 11 (Haarlem, 26 June 1568), 6 (Haarlem, 23 March 1576), <10> (of unknown date : Haarlem, 1581/82 ?), <12> (of unknown date : Haarlem, 1587 ?), <13> (of unknown date : Haarlem, 1590 ?), 16a, 16b (Haarlem, 1 August 1592), <21> (of unknown date : Haarlem, 1596 ?), 25, 26a, 26b (Haarlem, 1 February 1599), 29a, 29b, 32a (Haarlem, 1 April 1602)
- Cornelius SCHONAEUS to Ioannes VOCCINIUS : 2 (Haarlem, 6 June 1569)
- Cornelius SCHONAEUS to Timannus A WOU : 16a, 16b (Haarlem, 6 August 1592), 25, 26a, 26b (Haarlem, 26 February 1599), 30, 36, 42, 45, 52, 55, 61a, 61b, 65, 68, 71, 74, 85, 89, 94 (Haarlem, 1 January 1603)

*PREFACES/FOREWORDS :*

- Abraham DE CHAMP-RENAUD to the READER : 91 (undated <Lausanne, c. December 1705 ?>)
- An unknown ENGLISH editor to the READER : 17, 28, 33, 37, 43, 47, 51, 57, 58, 75, 77, 86, 90 (undated <London, 1595 ?>)
- An unknown FRENCH editor (to the READER) : 96 (undated <Paris, c. July 1779 ?>)
- Ábrahám KERTÉSZ SZENCZI [i.e. Cornelius LOOSAEUS CALLIDIUS] to the READER etc. : 76 (undated <Cologne, c. July 1591>)
- Cornelius LOOSAEUS CALLIDIUS to the READER etc. : 14, 15, 20, 23, 31a, 31b, 35a, 35b, 38, 41, 46, 53, 59, 63a, 63b, 66, 69, 72, [76], 83, 87, 92a, 92b, 96 (undated <Cologne, c. July 1591>)
- Gillis ROOMAN [i.e. Cornelius SCHONAEUS] to the READER : 16b ([Haarlem], 7 September 1594)
- Cornelius SCHONAEUS to the READER : [16b], 22, 24a, 24b, 24c, 24d (Haarlem, 29 December 1594 [i.e. 1597])
- Ioannes Henricus TROTTMANN to the READER etc. : 97 (undated <Prague, 1796/7>)
- Stefano VALVASENSE to the READER : 95 (undated <Venice, 1739>)

9. INDEX OF ARTICLES AND BOOKS REFERRED TO  
IN THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALLISON, A.F., *Four Metaphysical Poets George Herbert Richard Crashaw Henry Vaughan Andrew Marvell : A Bibliographical Catalogue of the Early Editions of their Poetry and Prose (To the end of the 17th century)* (Folkestone and London, Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1973) [= *Pall Mall Bibliographies* 3]

- ALLISON, A.F., *Robert Greene 1558-1592: A Bibliographical Catalogue of the Early Editions in English (To 1640)* ([Folkestone], Dawson, [1975]) [= *Pall Mall Bibliographies* 4]
- ALLISON, A.F., *Thomas Dekker c. 1572-1632: A Bibliographical Catalogue of the Early Editions (To the end of the 17th century)* (Folkestone and London, 1972) [= *Pall Mall Bibliographies* 1]
- ALLISON, A.F., *Thomas Lodge 1558-1625: A Bibliographical Catalogue of the Early Editions (To the end of the 17th century)* (Folkestone and London, 1973) [= *Pall Mall Bibliographies* 2]
- AMPZING, Samuel, *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland: ...* (Haarlem, Adriaen Rooman, 1628; reprint Amsterdam, 1974)
- ANDREAS, Valerius, *Bibliotheca Belgica: De Belgis vita scriptisq. claris. Praemissa topographica Belgii totius seu Germaniae inferioris descriptione*. Editio renovata, et tertiâ parte auctior (Louvain, Iacobus Zegers, 1643; reprint Nieuwkoop, 1973)
- ARBER, Edward, ed., *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 A.D.; with a Number for Easter Term, 1711 A.D.: A Contemporary Bibliography of English Literature in the reigns of Charles II, James II, William and Mary, and Anne*, Volume I, 1668-1682 A.D. — *Text and Index* (London, 1903)
- ARBER, Edward, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D.*, Volume III, *Text* (London, 1876; reprint Gloucester, Mass., 1967)
- BAULDWIN, William, (and Thomas PALFREYMAN), *A Treatise of Morall Philosophy ...* (London, Richard Bishop, 1651)
- BENZING, Josef, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, second revised and enlarged edition (Wiesbaden, 1982) [= *Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen* 12]. Cited in abbreviated form as Benzing
- BENZING, Josef, 'Die deutschen Verleger des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts', in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 2 (Frankfurt-am-Main, [1960]), pp. 445-509
- BENZING, Josef, 'Die deutschen Verleger des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Eine Neubearbeitung', in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 18 (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1977) [also issued separately], cols 1077-1322
- BIBLIOTHECA Belgica: Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par Ferdinand van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de Marie-Thérèse Lenger. *Index général* par Joseph De Reuck, 7 vols (Brussels, 1964-75; reprint in 6 vols, Brussels, 1979). Cited in abbreviated form as BB (references are to the 1964-75 edition)
- BIBLIOTHECA Danica: Systematisk Fortegnelse over den danske litteratur fra 1482 til 1830*, Volume I (Copenhagen, 1877; reprint Copenhagen, 1961); Volume III (Copenhagen, 1896; reprint Copenhagen, 1962)
- BIBLIOTHECA Hulsiana, sive catalogus librorum Quos magno labore, summa cura & maximis sumptibus collegit Vir Consularis Samuel Hulsius ... Quorum auctio habebitur Hagae-Comitum In aula magna (vulgo) de groote Zaal van 't Hof. Die 4. Septemb. & sequentibus 1730. Per Johannem Swart & Petrum De Hondt ...*, Volume III 2 (The Hague, Joh: Swart and Petr: De Hondt, 1730)
- BIBLIOTHECA Scriveriana exquisitissimis omnium facultatum, scientiarum, & artium, diversarumque linguarum libris, excellentissima, Quorum Auctio habebitur Amstelodami vulgò op de Verruwers Gragt naast het Staal-Hof Mensis Aprilis die 3. sequentibusque diebus horâ Nonâ ante, secundâ autem cum mediâ post meridiem praecisè ...* (Amsterdam, Stephanus van Lier, 1663)

- BIRCHER, Martin, *Deutsche Drucke des Barock 1600-1720 in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. Abteilung B. Mittlere Aufstellung. Band I. Literatur I: A-N* (Millwood-London-Nendeln, [1982])
- BIRCHER, Martin, *Deutsche Drucke des Barock 1600-1720 in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. Abteilung B. Mittlere Aufstellung. Band 2. Literatur 2: O-Z, Sprachwissenschaft, Kunst* (Millwood-London-Nendeln, [1982])
- BOEKEN-VAN AKEN, Lucie J. N. K., compiler, *Catalogus Nederlands toneel (Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam)*, Volume II, *Vertalingen en bewerkingen. Bijzondere genres* (Amsterdam, 1955)
- BOLTE, Johannes, 'Alexander v. Weilen, Der ägyptische Joseph im Drama des 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Litteraturgeschichte. Wien, Hölder, 1887', *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 8 (1887), cols 1513-15
- BOLTE, J., and W. SEELMANN, eds, *Niederdeutsche Schauspiele älterer Zeit* (Norden and Leipzig, 1895) [= *Drucke des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* 4]
- BOLTE, Johannes, 'Rists Irenaromachia und Pfeiffers Pseudostratitotae', in *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung. Jahrgang 1885*, 11 (Norden and Leipzig, 1886), pp. 157-67
- BOLTE, J., 'Speccius: Christoph S.', in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, Volume XXXV (Leipzig, 1893; reprint Berlin, 1971), p. 76
- BORCHLING, Conrad, and Bruno CLAUSSEN, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie: Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800*, Volume II, 1601-1800. *Nachträge, Ergänzungen, Verbesserungen, Register* (Neumünster, 1931-36; reprint Utrecht, 1976)
- BOUMAN, José, and Paul VRIESEMA, 'Harmen Janszoon Muller, printer and publisher in Amsterdam, c. 1538-1617', *Quaerendo*, 8 (1978), 221-59
- BOWERS, Fredson, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1949 and later impressions)
- BOWES, Robert, 'Biographical Notes on the University Printers from the Commencement of Printing in Cambridge to the Present Time', Reprinted for private circulation from the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications*, No. XXVI. (Vol. v. No. 4) 1886, 283-363
- BRASSICA, Iacobus, *Maiale de certo vitae genere deligendo, ...* (Haarlem, Gillis Rومان, 1598)
- BRIELS, J.G.C.A., *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630: een bijdrage tot de kennis van de geschiedenis van het boek ...* (Nieuwkoop, 1974) [= *Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica* 6]. Cited in abbreviated form as Briels
- BROWN, Carleton, ed., *The Stonyhurst Pageants* (Göttingen, 1920) [= *Hesperia*, *Ergänzungsreihe* Heft 7]
- BURGER JR., C.P., 'Amsterdamsche boeken op de Frankforter mis 1590-1609', *Het Boek*, 23 (1935-36), 175-94
- BURGER JR., C.P., 'De boekverkoopers Commelin te Genève, Heidelberg, Amsterdam en Leiden', *Tijdschrift voor boek- & bibliotheekwezen*, 9 (1911), 145-76
- BURGER JR., C.P., 'De rebus van onze oude rederijkers', *Het Boek*, 14 (1925), 145-92
- BURGER JR., C.P., 'De wetten voor de Haarlemsche en Amsterdamsche gymnasiasten, van 1576', *Het Boek*, 1 (1912), 321-28

- CAMPBELL, Lily B., *Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1959; reprint Cambridge-Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961)
- CARTHENY (CARTIGNY), Iohn (Jean de), *The Voyage of the Wandring Knight ...* (London, Richard Bishop for William Gilbertson, 1650)
- CATALOGUE of Ancient and Modern Theological Works, in the Learned and other Foreign Languages. On sale by John Bohn, 17, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden ... (London, Thomas Richards for the Executors of the Late C. Richards, 1842)
- CATALOGUS der bibliotheek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche letterkunde te Leiden, Volume II (Leyden, 1887)
- CATALOGUS librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, Bart. A.D. 1837 (Impressus typis Medio-Montanis mense maio, 1837; reprint, with an Introduction by A.N.L. Munby, London, [1968])
- CATALOGUS librorum qui ex typographia Christophori Plantini prodierunt (Antwerp, Christophorus Plantinus, 1584)
- CATALOGUS librorum quos vel excudit Commelinus, vel quorum exemplaria ad se recepit: Accedunt libri mss. e bibliotheca eius (Ex bibliopolio Commeliniano [i.e. Heidelberg, Officina Commeliniana], 1599)
- CATALOGUS librorum typographiae Plantini (Antwerp, ex officina nostra Typographica, 1 January 1579)
- CATALOGUS librorum typographiae Plantinianae (Antwerp, ex Officina n[ost]ra Typographica, 1 January 1580) [manuscript book catalogue presented to Christopher Plantin by his son-in-law Jan Moretus]
- COHEN, A.E., 'Graaf, stad en school: Iets over de oudste geschiedenis van ons Stedelijk gymnasium', in *Jaarboek Haarlem 1966* (Haarlem, 1967), pp. 59-69
- CONST-THOONENDE Iyweel, By de loflijke stadt Haarlem/ ten versoecke van Trou moet bliicken, in't licht gebracht ... (Zwolle, Zacharias Heyns, 1607)
- CORSTEN, Severin, 'Kalckhoven (*Calcovius*, *Kalcoven*), *Jost* (*Jodocus*)', in *Neue deutsche Biographie*, Volume XI (Berlin, [1977]), pp. 49<sup>b</sup>-50<sup>a</sup>
- CRAIG, Hardin, 'Terentius Christianus and the Stonyhurst Pageants', *Philological Quarterly*, 2 (1923), 56-62
- DADE Gen., William, *Dade, 1647. A New Almanack and Prognostication: ...* (London, Richard Bishop for the Company of Stationers, <1647>)
- DEGERING, Hermann, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek*, Volume I, *Die Handschriften in Folioformat* (Leipzig, 1925; reprint Graz, 1970) [= *Mitteilungen aus der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek* 7]
- DIETZ, Alexander, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, Volume III (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1921); Volume IV 2 (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1925)
- DOORNINCK, J.I. van, *Vermomde en naamlooze schrijvers opgespoord op het gebied der Nederlandsche en Vlaamsche letteren. Tweede uitgave der »Bibliotheek van Anonymen en Pseudonymen»*, Volume I, *Schuilnamen en naamletters* (Leyden, 1883; reprint Amsterdam, 1970)
- DUBIEZ, F.J., *Op de grens van humanisme en hervorming: De betekenis van de boek-drukkunst te Amsterdam in een bewogen tijd 1506-1578* (Nieuwkoop, 1962)
- DÜNNHAUPT, Gerhard, *Bibliographisches Handbuch der Barockliteratur: Hundert Personalbibliographien deutscher Autoren des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, Dritter Teil: R-Z* (Stuttgart, 1981) [= *Hiersemann's Bibliographical Handbooks* Volume 2.III]

- EHRENCRON-MÜLLER, H., *Forfatterlexikon omfattende Danmark, Norge og Island indtil 1814*, Volume VI (Copenhagen, 1929)
- EICHSFELD, Ephraim Gottlob, *Relation, vom Wittenbergischen Buchdrucker-Jubiläum 1740, nebst einer historischen Nachricht, von allen Wittenbergischen Buchdruckern, welche, ... allhier Druckereyen gehabt haben* (Wittenberg, [E.G. Eichsfeld], 1740)
- ERASMUS, Desiderius, *Libellus aureus, De civilitate morum puerilium, ... cum idiome Svecico, Germanico et Finnonico, ...* (Åbo, Johannes Winter, 1670)
- EVANS, William, *Pietatis Lachrymae. Teares of devotion ...* (London, Edward Allde, 1602)
- FOKKER, G.A., *Geschiedenis der loterijen in de Nederlanden: Eene bijdrage tot de kennis van de zeden en gewoonten der Nederlanders in de XV<sup>e</sup>, XVI<sup>e</sup> en XVII<sup>e</sup> eeuwen ...* (Amsterdam, 1862)
- GAEDERTZ, Karl Theodor, 'Johann Rist als niederdeutscher Dramatiker', in *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung. Jahrgang 1881*, 7 (Norden and Leipzig, 1882), pp. 101-72
- GARDBERG, Carl-Rudolf, *Boktrycket i Finland intill freden i Nystad* (Helsinki, 1948)
- GARRER, A.H., 'Een Hollandsche klucht in Latijnsch gewaad', *De Nederlandsche spectator*. 1881, no. 28 (9 July 1881), 244<sup>a</sup>-45<sup>b</sup>
- GARRER, A.H., *Schonaeus: Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Latijnsche school te Haarlem. Aan het Haarlemsche Gymnasium bij de herdenking van zijn 500jarig bestaan opgedragen* (Haarlem, 1889)
- GASKELL, Philip, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, reprinted with corrections [second reprint] (Oxford, [1979])
- GODEWYCK, P., *Wittebroods-kinderen of bedorve jongelingen. Bly-eynde spel: Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het schoolwezen in ons vaderland in de XVII<sup>e</sup> eeuw. Op nieuw uitgegeven door G.D.J. Schotel* (Utrecht, 1867)
- GOEDEKE, Karl, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen*, Volume II, *Das Reformationszeitalter*, second completely revised edition (Dresden, 1886; reprint Nendeln, 1975)
- GRAAF, B. de, and M.E. DE GRAAF, 'Petrus Apherdianus, ludimagister', *Het Boek*, 33 (1958-59), 129-54
- GRAAF, Bob de, and Maria Emilie DE GRAAF, *Petrus Apherdianus, ludimagister ca. 1510-1580* (Nieuwkoop, 1968) [= *Bibliographies of Dutch Humanists* 1 (= *Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica* 1)]
- GRAESSE, Jean George Théodore, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux ou nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique ...*, Volume VI 1: R-S (Dresden [etc.], 1865; reprints Leipzig and Paris, 1900; Berlin, 1922; Milan, [1950])
- GRUYS, J.A., and C. DE WOLF, *Typographi & bibliopolae Neerlandici usque ad annum MDCC. Thesaurus. Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers tot 1700 met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid* (Nieuwkoop, 1980) [= *Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica* 13]
- HAERLEMS Iyweel (Juweel/) Tot nut vande oude Arme uyt liefde(n) ten thoon ghestelt nae de voorg(h)egevene Caerte van(')t Speelcorentken (Zwolle, Zacharias (Sacharias) Heyns, 1608)
- HALLEMA, A., 'Cornelius Schonaeus en zijn wittebroodskinderen 1540 = 1940', *Het Kind*, 42 (1941), 263-67

- HANSELLI, P., ed., *Samlade vitterhetsarbeten af svenska författare från Stjernhjelm till Dalin. Efter originalupplagor och handskrifter utgifna ...*, Volume XXI, ... (Uppsala, 1876)
- HARBAGE, Alfred, *Annals of English Drama 975-1700: An Analytical Record of All Plays, Extant or Lost, Chronologically Arranged and Indexed by Authors, Titles, Dramatic Companies, &c.*, revised by S. Schoenbaum (London, [1964]).
- HAUGSTED, Mogens, 'Ældre danske bogtrykker- og forlæggermærker', in *Fund og Forskning i Det kongelige Biblioteks samlinger*, 2 (Copenhagen, 1955), pp. 39-58
- HEITZ, Paul, ed., *Elsässische Büchermarken bis Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Mit Vorbemerkungen und Nachrichten über die Drucker von Karl August Barack (Strasburg, 1892; reprint Naarden, 1984) [= *Die Büchermarken oder Buchdrucker- und Verlegerzeichen I*]. Cited in abbreviated form as Heitz, *EB*
- HEITZ, Paul, ed., *Die Kölner Büchermarken bis Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*. Mit Nachrichten über die Drucker von Otto Zaretsky (Strasburg, 1898; reprint Naarden, 1970) [= *Die Büchermarken oder Buchdrucker- und Verlegerzeichen 6*]. Cited in abbreviated form as Heitz, *KB*
- HUMMELEN, W.M.H., *Amsterdams toneel in het begin van de Gouden Eeuw: Studies over Het Wit Lavendel en de Nederduytsche Academie* (The Hague, 1982)
- HUMMELEN, W.M.H., *Repertorium van het rederijersdrama 1500-ca. 1620* (Assen, 1968)
- ILSØE, Ingrid, 'Bøger og boghandlere under Christian V', in *Fund og Forskning i Det kongelige Biblioteks samlinger*, 25 (Copenhagen, 1981), pp. 19-46
- INDEX librorum qui ex typographia Plantiniana prodierunt* (Antwerp, Ex officina Plantiniana, 1596)
- INDEX librorum qui ex typographia Plantiniana prodierunt* (Antwerp, Ex Officina Plantiniana, Vidua & Filii Io. Moreti, 1615)
- JONES, Gwen Ann, 'A Play of Judith', *Modern Language Notes*, 32 (1917), 1-6
- JONGE VAN ELLEMEET, W.C.M. de, *Museum Catsianum. 1837-1887*, second enlarged edition (The Hague, 1887)
- JUNDT, August, *Die dramatischen Aufführungen im Gymnasium zu Strassburg: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Schuldramas im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Strasburg, 1881)
- KEMPENAER, A. de, *Vermomde Nederlandsche en Vlaamsche schrijvers: Vervolg op Mr. J.I. van Doorninck's vermomde en naamlooze schrijvers, opgespoord op het gebied der Nederlandsche en Vlaamsche letteren* (Leyden, [1928]; reprint Amsterdam, 1970)
- KLEERKOOPER, M.M., and W.P. VAN STOCKUM JR., *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17<sup>e</sup> eeuw: Biographische en geschiedkundige aantekeningen*. Compiled by M.M. Kleerkooper, enlarged and edited by W.P. van Stockum Jr., 2 vols (The Hague, 1914-16) [= *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen boekhandel* 10]
- KOPS, Willem, 'Schets eener geschiedenis der rederijkeren', in *Werken van de Maetschappij der Nederlandsche letterkunde te Leyden*, Volume II (Leyden, 1774), pp. 213-351
- KOSTER, Simon, *Van schavot tot schouwburg: vijfhonderd jaar toneel in Haarlem* (Haarlem, 1970)
- KRUYSKAMP, C., 'De spelen van de Roode Lelie', *Jaarboek De Fontaine 1946-47* (Antwerp, 1948), pp. 27-34
- KÜHNE, Heinrich, *Wittenberger Buchdruckersignets: Die Signets der Wittenberger Drucker und Verleger des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, [1983])

- KUIPER, Ernst Jan, *De Hollandse „schoolordre” van 1625 : Een studie over het onderwijs op de Latijnse scholen in Nederland in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Groningen, 1958)
- KUIPER, Gerrit, *Orbis artium en renaissance. I: Cornelius Valerius en Sebastianus Foxius Morzillus als bronnen van Coornhert* (Harderwijk, 1941)
- LACEULLE-VAN DE KERK, H.J., *De Haarlemse drukkers en boekverkopers van 1540 tot 1600* (The Hague, 1951) [= *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen boekhandel* 14]. Cited in abbreviated form as Laceulle-Van de Kerk
- LANDWEHR, John, *Dutch Emblem Books : A Bibliography* (Utrecht, [1962]) [= *Bibliotheca emblematica* 1]
- LANDWEHR, John, *Emblem Books in the Low Countries 1554-1949 : A Bibliography* (Utrecht, [1970]) [= *Bibliotheca emblematica* 3]
- LENNEP, Jhr. O. van, *Beknopte geschiedenis van „Trou moet blycken” 1503-1922 ...* ([Haarlem], 1922)
- LIBRI appendiciarii bibliothecae Scriverianae, ... quae Auctione publicâ distribuentur* [8] Augusti 1663. in vico vulgò de Kalverstraat in de Kayzers Kroon Arendt van Outshooren, Aedibus horâ nonâ ante, secundâ autem cum mediâ post meridiem praecisè ... (Amsterdam, Stephanus van Lier, 1663)
- A List of Books Printed in Cambridge at the University Press 1521-1800* (Cambridge, 1935)
- LOOS CALLIDIUS, Cornelius, *Illustrium Germaniae scriptorum catalogus. Quo doctrina simul et pietate illustrium vita, et operae celebrantur ...* (Mainz, Casparus Behem, 1581; variant state : 1582)
- MACRAY, Gulielmus D., *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae partis quintae fasciculus quartus, viri munificentissimi Ricardi Rawlinson, I.C.D., codicum classis quartae partem alteram (libros sc. miscellaneos sexcentos et quinquaginta sex) complectens* (Oxford, 1898)
- MADAN, Falconer, *Oxford Books : A Bibliography of Printed Works Relating to the University and City of Oxford or Printed or Published There. With Annals and Appendixes*, Volume III, *Oxford Literature 1651-1680* (Oxford, 1931)
- MADAN, Falconer, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford ...*, Volume III, (*Collections received during the 18th Century*) (Oxford, 1895; reprint Munich, [1980])
- McKERRROW, R. B., general ed., *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640* (London, 1910; reprints [London], The Bibliographical Society, 1968 and 1977). Cited in abbreviated form as McKerrrow, *Dictionary*
- McKERRROW, R. B., 'Edward Alde as a Typical Trade Printer', *The Library*, Fourth Series, 10 (1930), 121-62
- McKERRROW, Ronald B., *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland 1485-1640* (London, 1913; reprint London, 1949) [= *Illustrated Monographs Issued by the Bibliographical Society* 16]. Cited in abbreviated form as McKerrrow, *Devices*
- MEIJLING, Herman, *Esbatementen van de Rode Lelije te Brouwershaven* (Groningen, 1946)
- MOERKERKEN, P. H. van, *Het Nederlandsch kluchtspel in de 17de eeuw*, 2 vols (Sneek, [1899])
- MOES, E. W., and C. P. BURGER JR., *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw*, 4 vols (Amsterdam/The Hague, 1900-15). Cited in abbreviated form as Moes-Burger



- MOLHUYSEN, P. C., ed., *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, Volume I, 1574-7 Febr. 1610 (The Hague, 1913) [= Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, [grote serie], 20]
- MOOR, Geertruida de, F. C. VAN BOHEEMEN, and Th. C. J. VAN DER HEIJDEN, 'Noord-wijkse rederijkerswedstrijden en blazoenen', *Holland*, 16 (1984), 121-32
- M(OORE), N(orman), 'Winterton, Ralph (1600-1636)', in *Dictionary of National Biography*, Volume LXII (London, 1900), pp. 225<sup>a</sup>-26<sup>a</sup> (reprint: Volume XXI (London, 1909), pp. 696<sup>a</sup>-97<sup>a</sup>).
- MULLER FZ., S., 'De aankoop der Hollandsche handschriften van Sir Thomas Phillips te Cheltenham', *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde*, Derde reeks, 5 (1889), 104-22
- MUNBY, A. N. L., 'The Netherlands Government's Purchase of Phillipps Manuscripts in 1888', *Het Boek*, 33 (1958-59), 1-8
- MUSTELIN, Olof, 'Gezelius, Johannes' (1 and 2), in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Volume XVII (Stockholm, 1967-69), pp. 101<sup>b</sup>-07<sup>a</sup>
- NAEMROL der Nederduitsche tooneelspellen, ... : see *TWEDE catalogus* ...
- The NATIONAL Union Catalog. Pre-1956 Imprints: A cumulative author list representing Library of Congress printed cards and titles reported by other American libraries* ..., Volume 62 ([London and Chicago], 1969); Volume 100 ([London and Chicago], 1970); Volume 147 ([London and Chicago], 1971); Volume 221 ([London and Chicago], 1972)
- (PFEIFFER, Erasmus), *Pseudostratitotae, Ein Teutsches Spiel unartiger Lediggenger/ denen das Sauffen von ihren Weibern und der Müssiggang auff Landsknechts Art getrieben/ von Bawren wol versaltzen wird. Von newen gedruckt* (1631), in *Sophoclis Ajax Lorarius seu tragica comaedia de Ajacis Telamonii ... furore ... olim à Josepho Scaligero Julij filio translata, et in theatro Argentinensi exhibita, Anno 1587* (No place, 1631)
- PLOMER, Henry R., *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907; reprints [London], The Bibliographical Society, 1968 and 1977). Cited in abbreviated form as Plomer, *Dictionary*
- POLLARD, A. W., and G. R. Redgrave, compilers, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland. And of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640* ..., [Part I, A-H] (London, 1926; reprints London, 1946, 1948, 1950, 1956, 1963 and 1969). Cited in abbreviated form as STC (references are to numbers). Volume II, I-Z, Second Edition, Revised & Enlarged. Begun by W. A. Jackson & F. S. Ferguson. Completed by Katharine F. Pantzer (London, 1976). Cited in abbreviated form as NSTC (= New STC) (references are to numbers)
- PORT, Wilhelm, *Hieronymus Commelinus 1550-1597: Leben und Werk eines Heidelberger Drucker-Verlegers* (Leipzig, 1938; reprint Nendeln and Wiesbaden, 1969) [= *Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten* Heft 47]
- PURDIE, Edna, *The Story of Judith in German and English Literature* (Paris, 1927) [= *Bibliothèque de la revue de littérature comparée* 39]
- RICHTER, Günter, 'Bibliographische Beiträge zur Geschichte buchhändlerischer Kataloge im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buches und seiner Funktion in der Gesellschaft. Festschrift für Hans Widmann zum 65. Geburtstag am 28. März 1973*, edited by Alfred Świerk (Stuttgart, 1974), pp. 183-229
- RIJNBACH, A. A. van, *De kluchten van Gerbrand Adriaensz. Bredero* (Amsterdam, 1926)

- RIJPERMAN, H. H. P., ed., *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, Volume XIII, 1604-1606 (The Hague, 1957) [= *Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, [grote serie]*, 101]
- RIST, Johann, *Sämtliche Werke*, edited by Eberhard Mannack, with the co-operation of Helga Mannack, Volume I, *Dramatische Dichtungen (Irenaromachia. Perseus)* (Berlin, 1967) [= *Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts* 3]. See also s.v. STAPELIUS, Ernestus
- RITTER, François, *Histoire de l'imprimerie alsacienne aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles ...* (Strasbourg and Paris, 1955) [= *Publications de l'Institut des hautes études alsaciennes* 14]
- ROGGE, Y. H., 'De blijspelen van Schonaeus', *De Nederlandsche spectator* 1901, no. 23 (8 June 1901), 180<sup>b</sup>-82<sup>a</sup>
- ROLLIN, (Charles), *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles lettres, par raport à l'esprit & au coeur*, Volume I, new edition (Paris, Widow of Estienne, 1741)
- ROTHSCHILD, Baron James de, *Le Mistère du viel testament*, Volume IV (Paris, 1882); Volume V (Paris, 1885)
- SCHNORR VON CAROLSFELD, Franz, compiler, *Katalog der Handschriften der Königl. öffentlichen Bibliothek* (afterwards: *Sächsischen Landesbibliothek*) zu Dresden, Volume II (Leipzig, 1883)
- SCHOTEL, G. D. J., 'Een Latijnsche klucht in een Hollandsch gewaad', *De Nederlandsche spectator*. 1881, no. 31 (30 July 1881), 266<sup>b</sup>-67<sup>a</sup>
- SCHREVELIUS, Theodorus, *Diatribae scholasticae sive orationes ...*, Tomus I, ... (Leyden, Joannes Maire, 1643)
- SCHREVELIUS, Theodorus, *Harlemum, sive urbis Harlemensis incunabula, incrementa, fortuna varia, in pace, in bello ...* (Leyden, Severinus Matthaei, 1647)
- SELM, Bert van, 'Some Amsterdam stock catalogues with printed prices from the first half of the seventeenth century', *Quaerendo*, 10 (1980), 3-46
- SETERS, W. H. van, 'De historische achtergrond van de uitgave van een Grieks-Latijns schoolboekje, volgens decreet der Staten van Holland in 1626 verschenen, en tot 1727 in gebruik gebleven', *Het Boek*, 33 (1958-59), 84-105
- J. SIEBMACHER's *grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch in einer neuen, vollständig geordneten und reich vermehrten Auflage mit heraldischen und historisch-genealogischen Erläuterungen*, Volume IV: Part 12, *Der Adel von Siebenbürgen* (Nuremberg, 1898)
- SILVESTRE, L.-C., *Marques typographiques ou recueil des monogrammes, chiffres, enseignes, emblèmes, devises, rébus et fleurons des libraires et imprimeurs qui ont exercé en France, depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie, en 1470, jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle: ...* (Paris, 1853-67; reprint (2 parts in 1 volume) Amsterdam, 1971). Cited in abbreviated form as Silvestre
- SKOPNIK, Günter, *Das Straßburger Schultheater: Sein Spielplan und seine Bühne* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1935) [= *Schriften des Wissenschaftlichen Instituts der Elsaß-Lothringer im Reich an der Universität Frankfurt*, Neue Folge 13]
- STAPELIUS, Ernestus [i.e. RIST, Johann], *Irenaromachia Das ist eine neue Tragico-comaedia von Fried und Krieg ... Acta Hamburgi Anno M. DC. XXX (Impressa typis Rebenlinianis)* [= Hamburg, Jakob Rebenlein, 1630]
- STEIGER, C. F. von, *Jean Le Preux: Der erste obrigkeitliche Buchdrucker der Stadt Bern 1600-1614* (Berne, 1953) [= *Bibliothek des Schweizerischen Gutenbergmuseums* 15]. Also published in the journal *Schweizerisches Gutenbergmuseum*, 39 (1953), 67-95

- STEINMEYER, Elias von, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Altdorf*, 2 vols (Würzburg, 1912; reprint Nendeln, 1980) [= *Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte. Vierte Reihe. Matrikeln Fränkischer Schulen* 1 and 2]
- STOPP, Frederick John, *The Emblems of the Altdorf Academy: Medals and Medal Orations 1577-1626* (London, 1974) [= *Modern Humanities Research Association Publications* 6]
- STOPP, F.J., 'Latin Plays at the Academy of Altdorf, 1577-1626', *Journal of European Studies*, 4 (1974), 189-213
- TANSELLE, G. Thomas, 'The Bibliographical Concepts of *Issue* and *State*', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 69 (1975), 17-66
- TAYLOR, John, *A Memorial of All the English Monarchs being in number 151, from Brute to King Charles. In Heroicall Verse* (London, Iohn Beale for Iames Bowler, 1630)
- TRUHLÁŘ, Joseph, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in C.R. bibliotheca publica atque universitatis Pragensis asservantur*, Volume II (Prague, 1906)
- TURKSMA, R., 'P. Van Godewijck's 'Witte-broodskinderen of Bedorve Jongelingen': Een kleine bijdrage tot de kennis van het schoolwezen in Nederland in de 17de eeuw', *Pedagogisch forum*, 6 (1972), 20-27\*
- TUYNMAN, P., 'Petrus Scriverius 12 January 1576-30 April 1660', *Quaerendo*, 7 (1977), 5-45
- TWEDE *Catalogus, bevattende de verzameling van Nederduitsche tooneelspellen, waeronder veele in schrift. Bijeen verzameld en nagelaeten door wijlen den wel-edelen gestrengen heere Mr. Johan vander Marck, Ae. Z. ... Welke verkocht zullen worden, op Donderdag den 28 April, en volgende dagen. Te Leyden, ten huize van Pieter Delfos, op het Rapenburg* (Leyden, Karel and Pieter Delfos, Jr., and Corn. van Hoogveen, Jr., 1774). After the auction, in May 1774 this catalogue was published with new preliminaries and two additional indices under the title of *Naemrol der Nederduitsche tooneelspellen*
- VLOTEN, J. van, *Het Nederlandsche kluchtspel van de 14<sup>e</sup> tot de 18<sup>e</sup> eeuw*, second enlarged edition, Volume II, *De zeventiende eeuw* (Haarlem, [1880])
- VOET, Leon, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp in two volumes*, Volume II, *The Management of a Printing and Publishing House in Renaissance and Baroque* (Amsterdam-London-New York, [1972])
- VOET, Leon (In collaboration with Jenny VOET-GRISOLLE), *The Plantin Press (1555-1589): A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols (Amsterdam, [1980-83]). Cited in abbreviated form as Voet
- VOGELEIS, Martin, *Quellen und Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters im Elsass 500-1800* (Strasburg, 1911; reprint Geneva, 1979)
- VRIES, A.G.C. de, *De Nederlandsche emblemata: Geschiedenis en bibliographie tot de 18<sup>e</sup> eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1899; reprint Utrecht, 1976)
- WATSON, Foster, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice* (Cambridge, 1908; reprint [London], 1968)
- WEILEN, A(lexander) v(on), 'Schonaeus: Cornelius S.', in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, Volume XXXIV (Leipzig, 1892; reprint Berlin, 1971), pp. 731-33

- WILD, P., 'Über Schauspiele und Schaustellungen in Regensburg', in *Verhandlungen des historischen Vereines von Oberpfalz und Regensburg*, 53 (= Neue Folge 45) (Regensburg, 1901), pp. 1-134
- WILL, Georg Andreas, *Bibliotheca Norica Williana oder kritisches Verzeichniß aller Schriften, welche die Stadt Nürnberg angehen*, ..., Part V, *Scriptorum ad hist. Altorfinam pertinentium* (Altdorf, Joh. Paul Meyer, 1775)
- WIMMER, Ruprecht, 'Grimmelshausens *Joseph* und sein unverhofftes Weiterleben', *Daphnis*, 5 (1976), 369-413
- WINKEL, J. te, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde van de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden*, Volume I (Haarlem, 1923) [= *De ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, second edition, Volume III (Haarlem, 1923; reprint Utrecht and Leeuwarden, 1973)]
- WITSEN GEYSBEEK, P.G., *Biographisch anthologisch en critisch woordenboek der Nederduitsche dichters*, Volume IV (Amsterdam, 1823)
- WOODFIELD, Denis B., *Surreptitious Printing in England 1550-1640* (New York, 1973)
- WORP, J.A., *Geschiedenis van den Amsterdamschen schouwburg 1496-1772*, edited with a supplement to 1872 by J.F.M. Sterck (Amsterdam, 1920)
- WORP, J.A., *Geschiedenis van het drama en van het tooneel in Nederland*, 2 vols (Groningen, 1904-08; reprint Rotterdam, [1970])

## ADDENDA

To the *List of Libraries Cited* the following addition should be made :  
Haarlem, Bibliotheek van het Stedelijk Gymnasium (StG).

Moreover the under-mentioned *French* libraries can be included in this list as possessing the following copies of works by Schonaeus :

- The Bibliothèque Municipale at *Niort* preserves, under shelf-mark 8-3125, a copy of the 1598 Antwerp edition (= No. 22) and a copy of the 1599 Amsterdam edition (= No. 25)
- The Bibliothèque Municipale at *PAU* preserves, under shelf-mark D 1658, likewise a copy of both the 1598 Antwerp (= No. 22) and 1599 Amsterdam editions (= No. 25)
- The Bibliothèque Municipale at *VERDUN* preserves, under shelf-mark 16963, a copy of the 1581 Antwerp editions of both *Saulus Conversus* (= No. 8) and *Naaman* (= No. 9); also, under shelf-mark 16962, a copy of the 1599 Cologne edition (= No. 23) (the first two gatherings, containing the preliminaries, and the play *Iosephus* are missing, however) and a copy of the 1602 Cologne edition (= No. 29b)

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to the following libraries for permission to reproduce the title-pages of books in their possession :

Åbo/Turku, ÅAB. Plates 91, 92, 93, 94, 95 — Amsterdam, UB-GU. Plates 26, 38, 76, 77, 78, 96, 97, 98, 111, 113 — Amsterdam, UB-VU. Plate 41 — Augsburg, SStB. Plates 22, 35, 39 — Basle, UB. Plates 17, 49, 57, 58, 59 — Berne, StUB. Plate 52 — Bremen, UB. Plates 100, 101, 102 — Brussels, KB. Plates 1, 5, 6, 23 — Budapest, MTAK. Plate 89 — Cambridge, Queens'. Plates 40, 62 — Cambridge, St Catharine's. Plate 44 — Cambridge, UL. Plate 68 — Cambridge (Mass.), HUL. Plate 50 — Dresden, SLB. Plate 106 — Durham, UL. Plate 103 — Durham, Ushaw. Plates 90, 112 — Edinburgh, NL. Plates 16, 47 — Edinburgh, UL. Plate 51 — Eichstätt, UB. Plate 34 — Einsiedeln, Stift. Plate 28 — Frankfurt-am-Main, StUB. Plate 42 — Freiburg im Breisgau, UB. Plates 12, 14 — Fribourg, BCU. Plate 104 — Ghent, UB. Plate 70 — Halle (Saale), MB. Plates 27, 30 — Leipzig, DBSM. Plate 7 — Leipzig, UB. Plates 79, 80, 81 — Leningrad, PB. Plate 54 — Leuven, BTF. Plate 21 — Leyden, UB. Plate 15 — London, BL. Plates 8, 18, 56, 60, 69, 99 — Marburg/Lahn, UB. Plates 82, 83, 84 — Munich, BSB. Plates 25, 31 — Munich, UB. Plates 105, 107, 108, 109 — Münster, UB. Plates 9, 10, 11 — Nijmegen, UB. Plates 63, 67 — Oxford, Bodleian. Plate 88 — Oxford, Christ Church. Plate 33 — Oxford, Corpus Christi. Plate 36 — Philadelphia (Pa.), LC. Plate 72 — Regensburg, SB. Plate 74 — The Hague, KB. Plates 19, 24 — Toruń, Główna. Plates 53, 55, 71, 73, 85, 86, 87 — Trier, StB. Plates 37, 43, 48 — Uppsala, UB. Plates 13, 75 — Utrecht, UB. Plates 2, 3, 4, 45, 64, 65, 66 — Venice, Marciana. Plate 110 — Washington, D.C., Folger. Plate 20 — Wolfenbüttel, HAB. Plate 61 — Zwickau, RB. Plate 32.

Plates 45, 46, 113, and 114 are greatly reduced in size.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to the Photographic Department of Nijmegen University Library for making, mostly from microfilm, the photographic reproductions. In this context the following exceptions should be noted: the photographs for plates 1, 5, 6, and 23 were provided to me by the Royal Library at Brussels.

Everestlaan 16  
NL-5801 KB Venray

## INSTRUMENTUM CRITICUM

### CASTIGATIONES ERASMIANAE, V.

Erasmi *Opera Omnia* V 2 (1985).

Hoc in volumine congregatae sunt enarrationes, commentarii vel paraphrases in Psalmos I, II, III, IV, XIV et XXII, curantibus A. Godin, S. Dresden et C. Béné. Eas narrationes edituris non graves obstant difficultates, quippe quae typis olim impressae nobis traditae sint (Accedit quod Psalmorum II et III singuli supersunt codices manu scripti). Quae cum ita sint, admodum doleo quod in curando textu, imprimis ad interpunctionem quod attinet, non maior opera impendatur. Nam, ut nunc est, sententiae saepius tam inscite interpunctionis signis disturbantur aut, ubi opus erat, iis carent ut non solum sensus, sed et oratoria dispositio omnino obscuretur. Exempla adferre supersedeo. Quemlibet inspicias locum et ipse videbis.

Item iterumque doleo quod singula opera capitibus et paragraphis non dividuntur. Qua divisione non solum argumentorum series et progressus aliquatenus manifestari potest, sed et maximum etiam commodum est ad loca referenda et laudanda.

Demum indices desiderantur verborum et rerum notabilium, qui studiosis semper maximo sunt usui. Exempli gratia quaedam verba veteribus non usitata collegi, haud ex proposito quaerens: soloecisare (p. 67,2); trigecuplus et sexagecuplus (122,2-3); proiectamentum plebis (129,24); frustraneus (200,229); illabefactabilis (297,356), voluptatula (380,726), etc. Num nimium est petere ut in editione docta, quae auro maioris veneat, adsint necessaria illa studiorum instrumenta?

Transeo iam ad singulos Psalmos, quorum verba typothetae diligenter satis expresserunt. Paucos errores, quod vidi legendo, corrigam iustam proponens lectionem.

#### 1. *Ps. I*

Haec editio critica dici non potest, sed potius mixta secundum incertam miscendi normam confecta. Nam modo editionem principem Argentoratensem anni 1515 (A) sequitur, alias Basileensem primam anni 1518 (B), interdum etiam tertiam anni 1525 (D) absque ulla,

quae quidem dispici potest, certa ratione. Dubitari equidem non potest quin editio princeps quaedam menda contineat, multo tamen rariora quam editor in praefatione (p. 28) suggerit. Nam plurima quae adfert exempla neque menda sunt neque emendanda; ceteri errores lapsus sunt typographici levissimi ut «iudices» (54, 603) inversa littera positum pro «indices». Sequitur ut vera menda ab editore recte tollantur, non sequitur ut cetera confuse sint miscenda. Aut editio princeps, expulsis erroribus, est edenda atque in apparatus eius relegentur oportet retractationes posteriores; aut contra ultima auctoris editio, expulsis item erroribus, praeferatur et in apparatu collocentur lectiones priscae. Haec autem nova editio verborum contextum conflavit, quem Erasmus numquam vel scripsit vel probavit. Satis sit unum hoc exemplum. Erasmus interdum neglegentius primum et ἀνακολούθως scripsit, ut festinanti solet accidere. Quae loca in editione D plerumque expolita sunt; hac autem in editione modo D proponitur (vide p. 39, 182-183, ubi tamen «hic» grammatice claudicat!), modo in apparatus reicitur (cf. p. 52, 567). Quae haec regula et norma miscendi? Utinam tandem Erasmi editores textus edendos viro philologo committerent antequam typographo tradantur! Textum curare opus est philologicum, non theologicum aut historicum.

Ceterum haec advertas : p. 31 : Epistolae numerus apud P.S. Allen est II 327; p. 32, 40 pulcherrimum; 37, 121 : 'per somnium' (BD) sola videtur lectio probanda; 61,848-62,849 : hymnus «Pange lingua» scriptus est a Venantio Fortunato. Hoc loco adferuntur versus 22-23 carminis I 2. Erasmus hymnum ex officio liturgico sumpsit, siquidem sua aetate Venantii carmina nondum in lucem erant prolata. 70,150 succurrant.

## 2. *Ps. II*

p. 122,816 hanc particulam; 136,253 constituit; 146,581 ovibus.

## 3. *Ps. III*

p. 163 et 178,448-179,452 est P.S. Allen V 1427.

p. 172,244-245 commi-/simus; 172,274 conviciis.

## 4. *Ps. IV*

p. 191 : Epistola est apud P.S. Allen VI 1535.

p. 200,225 scu/ptilibus; 205,397 Immolata; 210,558 conscientiae; 232,278 locupletantes; 239,496 occurramus; 240,532 ablactatus; 246, 721 : unum sit; 258,105 ubi.

5. *Ps. XIV*

p. 285 : Epistola est P.S. Allen III 879. In titulo legas «telonen» oportet. In nota ad 3 de usu vocis «telonem» (sic) tota erratur via. Erasmus haud procudit vocem latinam «telo», verum usus est voce graeca τελώνης, litteris romanis scripta.

290,133 manu factis; 312,838 cogitationum.

6. *Ps. XXII*

p. 327 : P.S. Allen VIII 2266.

p. 329,4 numeretis; 337,265 quandoquidem; 353,804 quo tandem; 354,836 reserata sunt; 360,60 quotannis; 362,98 redempturus; 368,342 fur et latro; 369,356 idololatriis; 370,375 fulciantes; 375,561-569 : ad hunc locum vide Varronem, *L.L.* V 35 et Ulpianum in *Dig.* XLIII 19.1; 380,742 suppliciiis.

J. IJsewijn.

## NUNTIUS

Latin and the Vernaculars in Post-Reformation Scandinavia.

Bilingualism and its texts as intermediaries in cultural processes.

A conference at the Nordic Institute, Biskops-Arnö (near Uppsala, Sweden), August 3-6.1987.

The conference will discuss Post-Reformation texts illuminating the interplay between Latin and the vernacular. The two languages may be seen as media of a donor culture and a recipient culture, in the sense both of linguistic-literary dependence and of a process of assimilation. The contributions on the separate texts should therefore serve as starting points for the discussion of several simultaneous processes: the influence of classical antiquity on Neo-Latin and vernacular production; the influence of Neo-Latin (Scandinavian and foreign) literature on the vernacular; the influence of local culture on Neo-Latin, nationally and internationally. Both Scandinavian vernaculars and Latin should accordingly be considered as carriers of donor and recipient elements.

The languages of the conference will be Swedish, Norwegian and Danish; contributions in German or English may be accepted.

Further information from *Forum for Renaissance Studies*, Institute of Classical Philology, 94 Njalsgade, DK-2300 Copenhagen S.



## INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM NEO-LATINUM

apparaverunt

J. IJsewijn, M. de Schepper, G. Tournoy, D. Sacré

*Appellatio ad auctores :*

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neo-latinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae. Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 LEUVEN, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

*SIGLA :*

*ACNS* = *Acta conventus neo-latini Sanctandreami: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies St Andrews 24 August to 1 September 1982*, ed. I.D. McFarlane, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 38 (Binghamton, 1986).

*BHR* = *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* (Genève).

*GSLI* = *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* (Torino).

*HL* = *Humanistica Lovaniensia* (Leuven).

*IMU* = *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*.

*JMRS* = *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Durham, N.C.).

*Perosa* = *Tradizione classica e letteratura umanistica. Per Alessandro Perosa*. A cura di R. Cardini, E. Garin, Lucia Cesarini Martinelli, G. Pascucci, 2 vols (Roma, Bulzoni, 1985).

*Reedijk* = *Boek, bibliotheek en geesteswetenschappen: opstellen C. Reedijk* (Hilversum, 1986).

*RIN* = *Rinascimento* (Firenze).

*RPL* = *Respublica Litterarum* (Lawrence, Kansas).

*RQ* = *Renaissance Quarterly* (New York).

*Sisto IV* = *Un Pontificato ed una Città: Sisto IV (1471-1484). Atti del Convegno Roma, 3-7 dicembre 1984*. A cura di M. Miglio, Francesca Niutta, D. Quaglioni, Concetta Ranieri, Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, Studi Storici, 154-162 (Roma, 1986).

*Virgil* = Pellegrini L.A. (ed.), *The Early Renaissance. Virgil and the Classical Tradition*. Acta (of) the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, S. U. N. Y. at Binghamton, IX (1985, for 1982).

*WBN* = *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* (Wiesbaden).

*WRM* = *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen* (Wiesbaden).

## 1. GENERALIA

1.1. *Bibliographica*

Bertalot L., *Initia Humanistica Latina. Initienverzeichnis lateinischer Prosa und Poesie aus der Zeit des 14. bis 16. Jh.*, Band I: *Poesie* (Tübingen, M. Niemeyer, 1985).

*Bibliographie internationale de l'Humanisme et de la Renaissance*, XVII: *Travaux parus en 1981* (Genève, Droz, 1985); XVIII: ... 1982 (ib., 1986).

Kohl B.G., *Renaissance Humanism, 1300-1550. A Bibliography of Materials in English* (New York, Garland Publ. Cy, 1985).

*The Neo-Latin News* XXXIX (Pennsylvania State Univ., 1986).

1.2. *Historica*

Bietenholz P. - Deutscher T.B. (edd.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus: a Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, Vol. 2: *F-M* (Toronto U.P., 1986).

Kristeller P.O., *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, II, *Storia e letteratura*, 166 (Roma, Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1985). Continet commentationes XXVII ann. 1956-1980 publici factas iuris, retractatas et auctas.

## ITALIA

Costantini L., "I poeti latini di Ragusa nella Roma del Settecento", in V. Branca - S. Graciotti, *Barocco in Italia e nei paesi slavi del Sud*, *Civiltà Veneziana*, Studi, 37 (Firenze, Olschki, 1983), pp. 395-401. Vide et infra: Croatia (Kadic).

Feo M., "Tradizione latina", in *Letteratura italiana*, V: *Le questioni* (Torino, Einaudi, 1986), pp. 311-378.

Kristeller P.O., "Latin and Vernacular in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Italy", *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 6 (1985), 105-126.

## ITALIA: ROMA

Blasio Maria Grazia, "Lo *Studium Urbis* e la produzione romana a stampa: I corsi di retorica, latino e greco", in *Sisto IV*, pp. 481-501.

IJsewijn J., "Rome en de humanistische literatuur", *Academiae Analecta. Mededelingen Kon. Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren*, 47 (1985), n. 1, 25-73. De litteris Latinis Romae saec. XIV-XX excultis. Eduntur in appendice (1) Petri Burri carmina IV ad Pium II et Sixtum IV; (2) Epistola abbatis Blandiniensis (OSB) ad Franciscum card. Barberinum de Jacobo Lummenaeo a Marca poeta; (3) Caroli Rotii S.J. Oratio habita Romae anno 1734 in instauratione studiorum.

*Roma Humanistica. Studia in honorem Rev<sup>i</sup> adm. Dni Dni Iosaei Ruysschaert*. Collegit et edidit J. IJsewijn = *HL*, 34 A (1985).

*Roma nel Rinascimento 1985* (Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, Roma, 1986): Bibliografia e Note.

## ITALIA : SULMO

Papponetti G., *La Provincia dell' Umanesimo. Saggi e note Sulmonesi* (Sulmona, Alle Case Pente, 1986). Auctoris opuscula collecta de litteris Sulmone renatis a Barbato ad Herculem Ciofanum.

## CROATIA

Kadic A., "The Role of Four Croatian Jesuits from Dubrovnik in the Cultural Life of Settecento Rome", in Id., *The Tradition of Freedom in Croatian Literature* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1983), pp. 62-97. S.J. sodales sunt Rogerius Boscovicus, Benedictus Stay, Raymundus Cunichius et Bernardus Zamagna; — vide et supra : ITALIA : Costantini.

## HISPANIA

García Martínez S., "Sobre la introducción del Helenismo en la Universidad de Valencia durante la primera mitad del Quinientos", in *Actes du 1er Colloque sur le pays Valencien à l'époque moderne* (Pau, 1980), pp. 363-397.

Gil Fernández L., *Panorama social del humanismo español (1500-1800)*, Estudios, 17 (Madrid, Editorial Alhambra, 1981).

López Grigera Luisa, "Introducción al estudio de la retórica en el siglo XVI en España", *Nova Tellus*, 2 (Mexico, 1984), 93-111.

Vide infra : Belgium vetus (IJsewijn).

## LUSITANIA

Rodrigues M.A., "Do humanismo à Contra-reforma em Portugal", *Revista de História das Ideias*, (Coimbra, 1981), 125-176.

## ANGLIA : OXONIUM

Upton C.A. - Fletcher J.M., "The Latinity of an Oxford College", in *ACNS*, pp. 511-517. Agitur de Collegio Merton Oxoniensi.

## BELGIUM VETUS

Hoven R., "Ecoles latines et livres scolaires au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Les études classiques*, 54 (1986), 277-288.

IJsewijn J., "Het humanisme, de Nederlanden en Spanje", in *Catalogus Luister van Spanje en de Belgische steden 1500-1700* (Brussel, Paleis voor schone kunsten, 1985), I, pp. 193-204. Traduction française : *Splendeurs d'Espagne et les villes belges 1500-1700*, I, pp. 193-204.

## BELGIUM VETUS : BRABANTIA

Matheeußen C. - Janssens J. D., *Het Humanisme in Brabant*, Dossiers Geschiedenis, 12 (Leuven, Acco, 1985).

## BELGIUM VETUS : DAMMA

Geirnaert N., "Twee pogingen voor een Latijnse school in Damme (1456-1461)", *Biekorf*, 85 (1985), 259-268. Agit pp. 264-267 de Gulielmo Zenders grammatico (Weert, ca. 1410/15 - Geertruidenberg, 1509).

## BELGIUM VETUS : FRANEQUERA

*Universiteit te Franeker 1585-1811. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Friese hogeschool*, red. G.Th. Jensma, F.R.H. Smit en F. Westra (Leeuwarden, Fryske Akademy, 1985).

## BELGIUM VETUS : TRUDONOPOLIS

Tournoy G., "Cultureel en literair leven in de Abdij van Sint-Truiden", in (Tentoonstellingskatalog) *Handschriften uit de abdij van Sint-Truiden* (Leuven, Peeters, 1986), pp. 30-40. De litteris medio- et neolatinis Trudonopolitanae abbatiae. Laudantur i.a. Gerardus Moringus (ca. 1495-1556), theologus et historicus, Petrus Crullus (ca. 1520-1598), historicus et comoediographus, Servatius Foullon (1624-1679) historicus.

## GERMANIA : AUSTRIA

Zeman H. (ed.), *Die österreichische Literatur. Ihr Profil von den Anfängen im Mittelalter bis ins 18. Jahrhundert (1050-1750)*. Unter Mitwirkung von Fr. P. Knapp (Mittelalter) herausgegeben von H. Zeman (Graz, Akadem. Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1986). Scriptores etiam Latini a Conrado Celte ad Avancinum et Rettenpacherum copiose tractantur.

## GERMANIA : AUSTRIA/VINDOBONA

Grössing H., "Die Wiener Universität im Zeitalter des Humanismus von der Mitte des 15. bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts", in *Das alte Universitätsviertel in Wien, 1385-1985*, hrsg. G. Hamann, K. Mühlberger, F. Skacel, Schriftenreihe des Universitätsarchivs, 2 (Wien, 1985), pp. 37-45.

## GERMANIA : DRYOPOLIS

Fink-Lang Monika, *Untersuchungen zum Eichstätter Geistesleben im Zeitalter des Humanismus*, Eichstätter Beiträge, Abt. Geschichte, 14 (Regensburg, F. Pustet, 1985).

## GERMANIA : HEIDELBERGA

Kühlmann W. - Telle J., "Humanismus und Medizin an der Universität Heidelberg im 16. Jahrhundert", in *Semper Apertus. Sechshundert Jahre Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg 1386-1986. Festschrift ...* bearbeitet von W. Dörr, Bd. I: *Mittelalter und frühe Neuzeit 1386-1803* (Berlin-Heidelberg, Springer-Verlag, 1985), pp. 255-289. Copiose tractantur Petrus Lotichius, Thomas Erastus (1524-1583), Johannes Opsopaeus (1556-1596), Henricus Smetius (1537-1614).

## GERMANIA : LIPSIA

Steinmetz M., "Die Universität Leipzig und der Humanismus", in L. Rathmann (ed.), *Alma Mater Lipsiensis. Geschichte der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1984), pp. 33-54.

## GERMANIA : NORIMBERGA

Wuttke D., "Humanismus in Nürnberg um 1500", *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte*, 48 (1985), 677-688.

## BOHEMIA

Kytzler B., "Humanismus und Literatur", in F. Seibt (ed.), *Renaissance in Böhmen* (München, Prestel-Verlag, 1985), pp. 329-340 + 398.

Hejnic J., "Humanistická bohemika ze 16 a 17 století", *Listy filologické*, 108 (1985), 94-101.

## SLOVACIA

Minárik J. (ed.), *Z klenotnice staršieho slovenského písomníctva*, vol. 2 : *Antológia renesančných a humanistických literárnych textov* (Bratislava, Tatran, 1985). Florilegium litterarum neo-latinarum ab auctoribus Slovaciae excultarum unis interpretationibus Slovaciae constans. Adiectae sunt notae bibliographicae eaeque valde utiles.

Minárik J., *Renesančná a humanistická Literatúra svetová, česká, slovenská* (Bratislava, Slovenské pedagogické Nakladateľ'stvo, 1985). Post brevem litterarum in Europa et apud Bohemos renatarum conspectum eae litterae quales apud Slovacos fuerint copiose tractantur (200 pp.), carminum excerptis et librorum rariorum frontibus illustrantur, locuplete studiorum neoteriorum indice latius aperiuntur. Est in votis ut haec libri pars etiam in maiorem linguam vertatur.

## POLONIA

Winniczuk Lidia, "The Latin Manuals of Epistolography in Poland in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", in *ACNS*, pp. 549-559.

## AMERICA SEPTENTRIONALIS

Mayer R., *Classica Americana : The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States* (Detroit, Wayne State Univ. Press, 1984).

## MEXICUM

Osorio Romero I., "Tres joyas bibliográficas para la enseñanza del latín en el siglo XVI novohispano", *Tellus nova*, 2 (Mexico, 1984), 165-200. Describuntur (1) Grammatica Maturini (Gilberti O.F.M. Mexicani), Mexici 1559; (2) Ovidii... De Tristibus etc. (Mexici, 1577): continet etiam Ioa. Sulpicii Verulani carmen de moribus mensae et Gregorii Nazianzeni carmina Latine versa; (3) Andreae Alciati Emblemata (Mexici, 1577).

## 1.3. Litteraria

Carnes P., *Fable Scholarship. An annotated Bibliography*, Garland Folklore Bibliographies, 8 (New York, London, Garland Publ., 1985).

Heinimann F., "Zu den Anfängen der humanistischen Pseudoepiologie", in *Catalepton. Festschrift für Bernhard Wyss* (Basel, 1985), pp. 158-182.

IJsewijn J., "Problemen van de Neolatinistiek, met een proeve van lyrische poëzie", *Lampas*, 18 (1985), 311-320.

Martinoli Santini Livia, "Le traduzioni dal Greco", in *Sisto IV*, pp. 81-101.

Meerhoff C.G., *Rhétorique et Poétique au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle en France. Du Bellay, Ramus et les autres*, (Ph.D. dissertation, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) (Leiden, Brill, 1986).

Michel A., "Les théories de la beauté littéraire de Marsile Ficin à Torquato Tasso", in *ACNS*, pp. 159-171. Agitur de Ficino, Christophoro Landino, Ioanne Ioviano Pontano, Fracastorio, Nipho, Torquato Taxo.

*Propyläen Geschichte der Literatur. Literatur und Gesellschaft der westlichen Welt*, 3. Bd. : *Renaissance und Barock 1400-1700* (Berlin, Propyläen Verlag, 1984). Continet i.a. H.G. Roloff, *Neulateinische Literatur* (pp. 196-230).

Weiss J.M., "Hagiography by German Humanists, 1483-1516", *JMRS*, 15 (1985), 299-316.

1.4. *Linguistica*

- Helfer C., *Lexicon auxiliare: ein deutsch-lateinisches Wörterbuch*, editio altera (Saarbrücken, 1985). *Lexicon verborum novatorum*.
- Paccagnella I., *Il Fasto delle Lingue. Plurilinguismo letterario nel Cinquecento* (Roma, Bulzoni, 1984).
- Pitkäranta R., "Zur wissenschaftlichen Terminologie einer mathematischen Dissertation in Turku 1645", *Arctos: Suppl. II, Studia I. Kajanto* (Helsinki, 1985), 215-227. Dissertatio de natura mathematicae auctore, ut videtur, Simone Kexlero.
- Pittaluga S., "Il 'vocabulario' usato da Cristoforo Colombo (Una postilla all' 'Historia rerum' di Pio II e la lessicografia medievale)", in *Columbeis I* (Univ. de Genova, Fac. di Lettere, 1986), pp. 107-115. *Columbus Catholicon* citat in postilla scripta in exemplari suo operis Piani.
- Schmidt P.-G., "Lateinische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Sprache", in *Mediterrane Kulturen und ihre Ausstrahlung auf das Deutsche*, Marburger Studien zur Germanistik, 8 (Marburg, Elwert, 1986), pp. 40-52.
- Thomson D.F.S., "On the Latin Style of Some French Humanists", in C.M. Grisé and C.D.E. Tolton (edd.), *Crossroads and Perspectives: French Literature of the Renaissance. Studies ... V.E. Graham* (Genève, Droz, 1986).

1.5. *Thematica*

- Cytowska Maria, "Die augusteischen Dichter in Polen im 16. Jahrhundert", *Klio*, 67 (1985), 291-294.
- Feo M., "Il Carnevale dell' umanista", in *Perosa*, pp. 25-93. Eduntur Epistulae carnisprivii; Ordo Guarineorum (elegia) per Gregorium Guarinum.
- Vandenbroeck P., "Bubo significans: die Eule als Sinnbild von Schlechtigkeit und Torheit, vor allem in der niederländischen und deutschen Bildardarstellung und bei Jheronimus Bosch. I.", *Jaarboek Koninkl. Museum Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, (1985), 19-135. Eduntur Ioannis Aglycionis *Declamatiuncula in noctuae laudem* (Monasterii, c. 1530?) et Augustini Marii (Mayer, Lehr bei Ulm, 1485 - Würzburg, 1543) *Marianus Bubo* (Herbipoli, 1541).
- APULEIUS: vide infra: 4. 1.: D'Amico.
- ARISTOTELES: Schmitt Ch.B., *La tradizione aristotelica: Fra Italia e Inghilterra*, Memorie dell'Istituto per gli studi filosofici, 12 (Napoli, Bibliopolis, 1985); — Schmitt Ch.B.-Knox D., *Pseudo-Aristoteles Latinus. A Guide to Latin Works Falsely Attributed to Aristotle Before 1500*, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, XII (London, Warburg Institute, 1985); — vide et infra: 4.2.: Schleiermacher.
- AUSONIUS: Green R., "Ausonius in the Renaissance", in *ACNS*, pp. 579-585.
- BOETHIUS: vide infra: 4.2.: Perottus Nicolaus: Pizzani.
- CAESAR: vide infra: 4.2.: Brenta.
- CATULLUS: Wisemann T.P., *Catullus and His World: A Reappraisal* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1985). Inest capitulum de Catulli fortuna; — Holoka J.P., *Gaius Valerius Catullus: A Systematic Bibliography*, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, 513 (New York, London, 1985). Continet i.a. commentationes librosque ad poetae fortunam pertinentes.

- CICERO : vide infra : 2.2. : Baptista Mantuanus : Dillon; 4.2. : Collenucius; 4.2. : Fracastorius; 4.2. : Livius Frulovisius; 4.2. : Mariana.
- CHRYSIPPUS : vide infra : 4.2. : Boccaccio.
- CHRYSOSTOMUS : vide infra : 2.2. : Libellius.
- DEMOCRITUS : vide infra : 2.2. : Wedderburn.
- GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSIS : vide supra : 1.2. : Mexicum.
- HERACLITUS : vide infra : 2.2. : Wedderburn.
- HOMERUS : vide infra : 2.2. : Raphael Volaterranus.
- HORATIUS : vide infra : 4.2. : Fontius.
- IUVENCUS : vide infra : 2.2. : Hesus.
- LUCIANUS : vide infra : 2.2. : Libellius.
- LUCRETIUS : vide infra : 2.2. : Marullus : Dionigi.
- OVIDIUS : vide infra : 3.1. : Pittaluga; supra : 1.2. : Mexicum.
- PHAEDRUS : vide infra : 4.2. : Perottus.
- PHILO ALEXANDRINUS : vide infra : 2.2. : Libellius.
- PLATO : Blum P.R., "Methoden und Motive der Platoninterpretation bei Marsilio Ficino", in *ACNS*, pp. 119-126; — vide et infra : 4.2. : Schleiermacher.
- PLUTARCHUS : vide infra : 4.2. : Livius Frulovisius; 4.2. : Ferronus.
- SALLUSTIUS : vide infra : 4.2. : Livius Frulovisius.
- STATIUS : vide infra : 4.2. : Beroaldus.
- TACITUS : Smith M., "Montaigne and the Christian Foes of Tacitus", in *ACNS*, pp. 379-390. Agitur etiam de Mureto.
- TERENTIUS : vide infra : 3.1. : Pittaluga.
- THUCYDIDES : vide infra : 4.2. : Valla Laurentius : Alberti.
- VERGILIUS : Pascucci G., "I versi finali della IV Ecloga di Virgilio nell'interpretazione degli umanisti", in *Perosa*, pp. 507-523; — vide et infra : 2.2. : Bellaius : Demerson; 2.2. : Bellaius : Hirstein; 2.2. : Fracastorius; 2.2. : Petrarca : Kennedy; 3.2. : Gager; 4.2. : Maranta; 4.2. : Valla Laurentius : De Panizza.

### 1.6. Scientifica

- Böhme G., *Bildungsgeschichte des frühen Humanismus* (Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984).
- Gambasini A., *Theses in sacra Theologia nell'Università di Padova dal 1815 al 1873* (Trieste, 1984).
- Iserloh E., *Katholische Theologen der Reformationszeit*, Bd. II (Münster, 1985).
- Rodrigues M.A., "Subsídios para a história da exegese bíblica em Portugal. Escrituristas e suas obras", *Rivista da Universidade de Coimbra*, 29 (1981), 339-418.

### 1.7. Critica

- Kristeller P.O., "The Editing of Fifteenth-Century Texts : Tasks and Problems", *Italian Culture*, 4 (1983), 115-122.

### 1.8. Didactica

- Blusch J., "Humanistische Lektüre im altsprachlichen Unterricht am Beispiel der Laus Stultitiae des Erasmus", *Anregung. Zeitschrift für Gymnasialpädagogik*, 31 (München, 1985), 287-312.

- Ludwig W., "Humanistische Gedichte als Schullektüre. Interpretationen zu Sannazaro, Flaminio und Pontano", *Der altsprachliche Unterricht*, 29 (1986), 53-74.
- Wirth-Poelchau Lore, "Die lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten im heutigen Lateinunterricht", *Der altsprachliche Unterricht*, 29 (1986), 75-88.

## 2. POETICA

### 2.1. Generalia

- Barner W., "Vergnügen, Erkenntnis, Kritik : Zum Epigramm und seiner Tradition in der Neuzeit", *Gymnasium*, 92 (1985), 350-371.
- Elschenbroich A., "Sammeln und umgestalten Aesopischer Fabeln bei den Neulateinern des 16. Jahrhunderts", *Daphnis*, 14 (1985), 1-63. Attinguntur Pantaleon Candidus, Posthius, Schopper, Lossius, Osius, Melanchthon, Gerbelius, Bebel, Ioachim Camerarius, Dorpius ...
- Ginsberg Ellen S., "Peregrinations of the Kiss : Thematic Relationships between Neo-Latin and French Poetry in the Sixteenth Century", in *ACNS*, pp. 331-342. Agitur de Jano Secundo, Bellaio, Borbonio et Mureto.
- Guépin J.P., *De vervelende Laura. Bloemlezing behorend bij de colleges van J.P. Guépin over Neolatijnse poëzie* (Ed. Crea-literatuur, Grimborgwal 10, gebouw 2, NL-1012 GA Amsterdam, 1985). Anthologia plurilinguis pro manuscripto edita in usum studiosorum Amstelodamensium.
- Kaiser L.M., "Latin Verse Theses from Early Virginia", *The Neo-Latin News*, XXXIII 3 (Fall/Winter 1985), p. 54 N-18. Eduntur theses physicae et philosophicae VII distichis elegiacis ligatae.
- Kaiser L.M., "Old Dominion Metrifcation", *The Classical Bulletin*, 62 (1986), 31-33. Eduntur poematia X e codice quodam miscellaneo eruta, ad Virginienses pertinentia.
- Kitchell K. - Schierling S., "Three Unicorn Poems from Rossi 1006", *The Classical Bulletin*, 61 (1985), 69-74. Carmina Latina III ca. annum 1500 pacta.
- Lieberg G., *Zu Idee und Figur des dichterischen Schöpfungstums* (Bochum, Selbstverlag des Verfassers (Friederikastrasse 90, D-4630 Bochum 1), 1985). Attinguntur i.a. Boccattius et Vida.
- Moss Ann, "The Counter-Reformation Latin Hymn", in *ACNS*, pp. 371-378.
- Muñoz Simonds Peggy, "Freedom of Speech and the Emblem Tradition", in *ACNS*, pp. 605-616.
- Simeoni A.E.C., "Laurels for the Bishop : a school celebration in words and images, Antwerp, 1711", *Jaarboek Kon. Museum Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, (1985), 289-308. Agitur de libello emblematis illustrato atque a scholasticis S.J. Antverpiensibus edito in visitatione Petri Iosephi de Francken-Sierstorpff (1711).
- Von Wiese B. - Steinhagen H. (edd.), *Deutsche Dichter des 17. Jahrhunderts. Ihr Leben und Werk* (Berlin, E. Schmidt, 1985). Tractat nonnullos poetas qui et Latine scripserunt : M. Opitz (K. Garber), J.M. Moscherosch (K.



Haberkamm), S. Dach (W. Segebrecht), P. Fleming (J. U. Fechner), J. Bidermann et N. Avancinum (J. M. Valentin), etc.

## 2.2. *Poetae*

ALCIATUS ANDREAS : Callahan Virginia W., "Andrea Alciati's View of Erasmus : Prudent Cunctator and Bold Counselor", in *ACNS*, pp. 203-210; — Mesnard J., "Les Traductions françaises des *Emblèmes* d'Alciati", in C.M. Grisé and C.D.E. Tolton (edd.), *Crossroads and Perspectives : French Literature of the Renaissance. Studies ... V.E. Graham* (Genève, Droz, 1986). — vide et supra : 1.2. : Mexicum.

ANDRELINUS FAUSTUS : Tournoy G., "Sisto IV, Fausto Andrelini ed il Tebaldeo", in *Sisto IV*, pp. 557-567.

ANTONIUS ASTESANUS (1412-1468/76) : Balzaretti M., "Antonio Astesano traduttore di Charles d'Orléans", *Studi Francesi*, 29 (1985), 58-62.

ARRIVABENUS (EUTYCHIUS) IOANNES PETRUS (Mantova, 1439 - Urbino, 1504) : Chambers D.S., "Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene (1439-1504), Humanist Secretary and Bishop", *Aevum*, 58 (1984), 397-438. Iuvenis scripsit longum Pii II<sup>i</sup> panegyricum (Pienza, Bibl. Picc., ms. 1) et Gonzagidos carmen ad Ludovicum Marchionem Mantuanum (Gotha, Landesbib., cod. II 106). Scripsit et permultas litteras Latinas et vulgares.

AVANCINUS NICOLAUS : vide supra : 2.1. : Germania : Austria : Zeman.

BALDE JACOBUS S.J. : Thill Andrée, "Mort et vanité dans le lyrisme de Jacob Balde (1604-1668)", *Revue des Études Latines*, 62 (1984(1985)), 326-343. Tractat 'Enthusiasmum in coemeterio' (*Lyr.* II 39); — Valentin J.-M. (ed.), *Jakob Balde und seine Zeit. Akten des Ensisheimer Kolloquiums 15.-16. Oktober 1982*, Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik, Reihe A, Kongressberichte, 16 (Bern, Frankfurt/M., New York, P. Lang, 1986).

BAPTISTA MANTUANUS : Dillon J. B., "Marius and Carbo : a Ciceronian Allusion in Mantuan's *Aegloga Secunda*", in *Virgil*, pp. 57-78; — Vredevelde H., "'In nonam horam' : a misunderstood Phrase in Baptista Mantuanus' First Eclogue", *Aevum*, 59 (Milano, 1985), 459-460. 'Hora nona' (v. 121) secundum usum medioaevalem significat meridiem, non secundum usum antiquum horam tertiam post meridiem.

BARTHOLOMAEUS SULMONENSIS ( - 1491) : Percival W.K. - Pascal P., "The Latin Poems of Bartolomeo Sulmonese", *HL*, 34A (1985), 150-177.

BECCADELLIUS ANTONIUS : Coppini Donatella, "Un' eclisse, una duchessa, due poeti", in *Perosa*, pp. 333-373. Poetae sunt Beccadellius et Porcellius Pandonus.

BELLAUS IOACHIMUS : Joachim Du Bellay, *Œuvres poétiques*, VIII : *Autres œuvres latines*. Texte présenté, établi, traduit et annoté par Geneviève Demerson, Société des Textes français modernes (Paris, Nizet, 1985). *Tumuli Henrici II* (1559 et 1561); *Xenia seu Allusiones*; *Elegia ad Ianum Morellum*; *Varia*; — Chomarar J., "Les poemata de Du Bellay", *Vita Latina*, n. 101 (m. Martio 1986), 26-30; — Demerson Geneviève, "Présence de Virgile chez Du Bellay", in *ACNS*, pp. 319-329; — Hirstein J.S., "La Rome de Virgile et celle du seizième siècle dans 'Ad Ianum Avansonium apud sum-

- mum pont. oratorem regium, Tyberis' de Joachim Du Bellay", in *ACNS*, pp. 351-358; — vide et infra : 4.2. : Turnebus; supra : 2.1. : Ginsberg.
- BEZA THEODORUS : Thomson T., "The *Poemata* of Théodore de Bèze", in *ACNS*, pp. 409-415.
- BIDERMANN J. : vide supra : 2.1. : von Wiese.
- BORBONIUS N. : vide supra : 2.1. : Ginsberg.
- BOSCOVICIUS ROGERIUS : vide supra : 1.2. : Croatia.
- BUCHANANUS GEORGIUS : Ford P., "George Buchanan and the 'Satyra in Carolum Lotharingum Cardinalem'", in *ACNS*, pp. 43-50; — Green R., "George Buchanan's Psalm Paraphrases: Matters of Metres", in *ACNS*, pp. 51-60; — Kytzler B., "Buchanan's Poetry on Rome", in *ACNS*, pp. 61-67; — Martyn J. R. C., "New Poems by Buchanan, from Portugal", in *ACNS*, pp. 79-83.
- BURRUS PETRUS : vide supra : 1.2. : Italia : Roma : IJsewijn.
- CABRERA CHRISTOPHORUS (S. Olalla de Bureba/Burgos, 1513- ); Alcina Rovira J. F., "Cristóbal Cabrera en Nueva España y sus *Meditatiunculae ad Principem Philippum*", *Nova Tellus*, 2 (Mexico, 1984), 131-163. Carmen anno 1548 Pinciae editum annos in Mexico actos (ca. 1531-1543/44) revocat.
- CAMPANUS IOANNES ANTONIUS : Cecchini P., "Per un'edizione dei 'Carmina' di Giannantonio Campano", *Rivista di Studi Marchigiani*, 4 (Sassoferrato, 1981), 53-76.
- CELTIS CONRADUS : Wuttke D., *Humanismus als integrative Kraft. Die Philosophie des deutschen 'Erzhumanisten' Conrad Celtis. Eine ikonologische Studie zu programmatischer Graphik Dürers und Burgkmaiers*, Stadt Nürnberg, Stadtgeschichtliche Museen, Renaissance-Vorträge, 8 (Nürnberg, Verlag H. Carl, 1985).
- CAPILUPUS HIPPOLYTUS (Mantova, 8 VII 1511 - Roma, 20 IV 1580) : Kytzler B., "Roma Pulcerrima Rerum. Zum Romgedicht des Hippolytus Capilupus", *RPL*, 8 (1985), 131-139.
- COCHANOVIVS IOANNES : Grzesczuk S., "Die Kritik des Hofes und der höfischen Sitten in der altpolnischen Landadligen-Dichtung", *Daphnis*, 14 (1985), 99-110. Agitur etiam de Cochanovio; — Starnawski J., "Le poème latin de Jan Kochanowski concernant Wanda (Élégie I.15)", in *ACNS*, pp. 543-547.
- CORDUS EURICIUS : Möncke Gisela, "Der hessische Humanist Euricius Cordus und die Erstausgabe seines *Bucolicon* von 1514", *Daphnis*, 14 (1985), 65-98.
- CORRARIUS GREGORIUS : Berrigan J. R., "Portrait of a Venetian as a Young Poet", in *ACNS*, pp. 113-118.
- COTTA IOHANNES STEPHANUS (Milano, ca. 1435- ) : Ricciardi R., "Il *Libellus Epistularum de exhortatione in Turcos* attribuito a Giovanni Stefano Cotta nel cod. Parm. 27", in *Perosa*, pp. 297-306.
- COWLEY ABRAHAMUS : Dillon J. B., "Qualiter in ramo", *Notes and Queries*, N.S. 33 (1986), 194. De carmine quodam Cowlei adoptivo.
- CRASHAW RICCARDUS : Cunnar E. R., "Crashaw's *Bulla* : a baroque and paradoxical Image of religious Poetics", *JMRS*, 15 (1985), 183-210.
- CUNICHIUS RAIMUNDUS : vide supra : 1.2. : Croatia.
- DACH S. : vide supra : 2.1. : Von Wiese.

- DOLETUS STEPHANUS : Worth Valerie J., "Etienne Dolet : From a Neo-Latin Epic Poem to a Chronicle in French Prose", in *ACNS*, pp. 423-429. De carmine quod inscribitur 'Francisci Valesii Gallorum Regis Fata' eiusdemque interpretatione metris soluta.
- DOUSA IANUS SR. : Heesakkers C.L., "Rhetorische marginalia in de metrische *Annales* van Janus Dousa Pater (1599), *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 1 (1985), 37-47. "Annales rerum a priscis Hollandiae comitibus ... gestarum, nunc primitus in unum metricae Historiae corpus redacti atque in X libros tributi ac dispartiti" (Hagae Comitum, 1599).
- DURDEVICIUS IGNATIUS (Dubrovnik, 1675-1737) : Kadic A., "Ignjat Djurdević, Croatian-Baroque Writer", *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 18-19 (New York, 1977-78), 92-97.
- EOBANUS : vide HESSUS.
- ERASMUS DESIDERIUS : Augustijn C., "Erasmus-Promotion Anno 1515 : die Erasmus-Stücke in *Iani Damiani ... Elegeia*", in *Reedijk*, pp. 19-28; — van der Blom N., "Erasmus' Carmen Votivum ter ere van Ste-Geneviève", *Hermeneus*, 58 (1986), 191-198; — Vredeveld H., "An obscure Allusion in Erasmus' Ode on St. Michael", *BHR*, 48 (1986), 91-92.
- ERASTUS THOMAS : vide supra : 1.2. : Germania : Heidelberga.
- FABER FRANCISCUS (Ottmachau/Neisse, 1497 - Breslau, 1565) : Kytzler B., "Laudes Silesiae II: Franz Fabers 'Sabothus'", *Jahrbuch Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau*, 26 (1985), 51-63. *Sabothus* carmen est de monte Silesio, cui nomen Zobten (Basileae, 1592). Excerptum proponitur de laude Silesiae.
- FLAMINIUS MARCUS ANTONIUS : vide supra : 1.8. : Ludwig.
- FLEMINGUS PETRUS : vide supra : 2.1. : Von Wiese.
- FLEMMING ROBERTUS (ca. 1415-1483) : IJsewijn J., "Robert Flemming and Bartolomeo Platina, or the Need of Critical Editions", *HL*, 34 A (1985), 76-82.
- FRACASTORIUS HIERONYMUS : Della Corte F., "Il Colombo di Girolamo Fracastoro", in *Columbeis I* (Univ. di Genova, Fac. di Lettere, 1986), pp. 139-155. De Columbo in carmine Syphilidis eiusque exemplo Vergiliano.
- GATHEUS IACOBUS (Banffshire, 10 I 1700 - ) : Macqueen J.G., "An Acrostich Tribute to Thomas Ruddiman and his Edition of Buchanan's Works", in *ACNS*, pp. 69-78.
- GERALDINI ANTONIUS ( -1489) : Petersohn J., *Ein Diplomat des Quattrocento : Angelo Geraldini (1422-1486)*, Bibliothek des deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 62 (Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1985). Antonius erat Angeli nepos et auctor *Vitae Angelini Geraldini episcopi Suessani*. Nova etiam adferuntur de vita et carminibus Antonii.
- GEZELLE VIDO : D'Haen Christine, "Omtrent een Latijns 'gedicht' van Guido Gezelle", *Gezelliana*, 11 (1982), 45-53. De Vidonis Gezelle carmine Nederlandico veste Latina eaque plus minusve poetica induto.
- GROTIUS HUGO : Eyffinger A., "Hugo Grotius, Poet and Man of Letters", in *ACNS*, pp. 217-223.
- GUARINUS VERONENSIS : Fabbri R., "Qualche appunto sulle traduzioni omeriche di Guarino Veronese", *RPL*, 8 (1985), 71-81.

- GUARINUS GREGORIUS : vide supra : 1.5. : Feo.
- HASSENSTENIUS A LOBKOWICZ BOHUSLAUS : Martinek J., "De falsa litterarum gloria Bernhardo Adelmanno adficta", *Listy filologické*, 108 (1985), 204-217. Critice editur et explanatur Bohuslai elegia I falso 'Ad Bernhardum Adelmannum' inscripta, re vera ad Victorinum de Wssehrd data.
- HERBERT GEORGIUS : Blair Rhonda L., "George Herbert's Greek Poetry", *Philological Quarterly*, 64 (1985), 573-584. Carmina Graeca (una cum Latinis) in honorem matris defunctae pacta eduntur eademque Anglice vertuntur.
- HESSUS EOBANUS : Vredevelde H., "The Unsuspected Source of Eobanus Hessus's *Victoria Christi ab Inferis*", in *ACNS*, pp. 293-297. Fons est Ps.-Iuvenci *Triumphus Christi heroicus*.
- KYNASTON FRANCISCUS (Oteley, ca. 1587-1642) : Ryan L.V., "A Neo-Latin Version of Robert Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*", in *ACNS*, pp. 481-491. Idem Chauceri Troilum et Cressidam Latine vertit.
- LAETUS CALVIDIUS : vide infra : Quillet Claude.
- LANDINUS CHRISTOPHORUS : Lentzen M., "Le lodi di Firenze di Cristoforo Landino : L'esaltazione del primato politico, culturale e linguistico della città sull'Arno nel Quattrocento", *Romanische Forschungen*, 97 (1985), 36-46. Agitur i.a. de *Xandra*.
- LANDIVAR RAPHAEL : Kerson A.L., "Rafael Landivar's *Rusticatio Mexicana* and the Enlightenment in America", in *ACNS*, pp. 587-596.
- LEMNIUS SIMON (1511-1550) : Wachinger F., "Anmerkungen zu den Epigrammen des Simon Lemnius", *HL*, 34 B (1985), 114-132.
- LIBELLIUS (DE ARCHILIBELLIS) LILIUS EGIDIUS TIFERNAS (Città di Castello, ca. 1477 - Ceprano, 1486) : Jaitner-Hahner Ursula, "Lilio Egidio Libelli", *WRM*, 10 (1986), 91-94. J. parat librum de Libellio, qui Lucianum, Johannem Chrysostomum et integrum fere Philonem Alexandrinum Latine vertit, dialogum de re politica ad Pium II composuit necnon carmina quaedam.
- LOTICHIUS PETRUS : vide supra : 1.2. : Germania : Heidelberg.
- MACRINUS SALMONIUS : Soubeille G., "Un recueil poétique hors du commun, le *Naeniae* de Salmon Macrin (1550)", in *ACNS*, pp. 391-397.
- MARULLUS MICHAEL : Dionigi I., "Marullo e Lucrezio : tra esegesi e poesia", *RPL*, 8 (1985), 47-69; — McGann M.J., "1453 and all that : The End of the Byzantine Empire in the Poetry of Michael Marullus", in *ACNS*, pp. 145-151.
- MOSCHEROSCH J.M. : vide supra : 2.1. : Von Wiese.
- MURETUS M.A. : vide supra : 2.1. : Ginsberg.
- MUSSATUS ALBERTINUS : Cecchini E., "'Le Epistole Metriche' del Mussato sulla poesia", in *Perosa*, pp. 95-119. Editio critica.
- NALDUS NALDIUS : Mariotti S., "Volaterranae Urbes = Volaterrae in Naldo Naldi", in *Letteratura e filologia. Studi in onore di C.F. Goffis* (Foggia, Bastogi, 1985), pp. 107-109. Grant falso "Urbes" emendavit in "arces" (*Volaterrais*, IV 245 et 332); — Martelli M., "Le *Elegie* di Naldo Naldi", in *Perosa*, pp. 307-332.
- OPITZ M. : vide supra : 2.1. : Von Wiese.

- OPSOPAEUS IOANNES : vide supra : 1.2. : Germania : Heidelberg.
- PACIFICUS MAXIMUS : Pacifico Massimi, *Les Cent Élégies. Hecatelegium, Florence, 1489*. Édition critique traduite et présentée par Juliette Desjardins (E.L.L.U.G., Université des langues et lettres, B.P. 25 X, F-38040 Grenoble, 1985).
- PALEARIUS AONIUS : Sacré D., *Aonii Palearii Verulani De animorum immortalitate libri III. Kritische editie, met een Nederlandse vertaling en toelichtingen. Voorafgegaan door een bio-bibliografie van de auteur*, 2 vols (Unpublished Ph.D. diss. Kath. Univ. Leuven, 1986); — Id., “De Aoni Paleari poematio ad M. Ant. Maphaeum”, *Melissa*, num. 10 (Bruxellis, m. Martio 1986), 8 + 11-12 et num. 11 (m. Maio 1986), 5; — Id., “Aonii Palearii Carmina Iuvenilia II”, *HL*, 34 A (1985), 209-236.
- PASQUILLI CARMINA : Reynolds Anne, “Cardinal Oliviero Carafa and the Early Cinquecento Tradition of the Feast of Pasquino”, *HL*, 34 A (1985), 178-208.
- PETRARCA FRANCISCUS : Billanovich G., “L’Orazio Morgan e gli studi del giovane Petrarca”, in *Perosa*, pp. 121-138; — Kennedy W.J., “The Virgilian Legacies of Petrarch’s *Bucolicum Carmen* and Spenser’s *Shepherdess Calender*”, in *Virgil*, pp. 79-108.
- PINEDA FRANCISCUS DE SALES S.J. (Tlaxcala, 26 I 1733 - Ferrara, 1800): Esquer Aracely, “*Carmen epicum in divini tyronis honorem*, de autor anónimo”, *Nova Tellus*, 2 (Mexico, 1984), 201-223. Editur carmen in honorem Stanislai Kostkae, cuius auctor est Pineda secundum opinionem Luciae Mariae Velázquez Herrera, *Poema anónimo en honor de San Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Compañía de Jesús (Edición, introducción, traducción, anotación, apéndices)* (Unpubl. lic. diss., U.N.A.M. México, 1979).
- POLITIANUS ANGELUS : Bettinzoli A., “‘Dolus et error’: di alcuni carmi latini del giovane Poliziano”, *Lettere italiane*, 38 (1986), 166-192.
- POMPILIUS PAULUS (Roma, ca. 1455-1491): Chiabò Maria, “Paolo Pompilio professore dello *Studium Urbis*”, in *Sisto IV*, pp. 503-514.
- PONTANUS IOANNES IOVIANUS : Parenti G., *Poëta Proteus alter. Forma e storia di tre libri di Pontano*, Quaderni di ‘Rinascimento’, 4 (Firenze, Olschki, 1985). *De tumulis*; *De amore coniugali*; *Parthenopes liber II* secundum codicem ms. Marc. Lat. XII 122 (= 4173); — vide et supra : 1.8. : Ludwig.
- PORCELLIUS PANDONUS : vide supra : Beccadellius.
- QUATRARIUS IOANNES : Papponetti G., “Umanesimo e vecchi merletti”, *La gazetta peligna*, 1 num. 5 (giugno 1985), 3. Codex carminum Quatrarii e bibliotheca Sulmonensi tempore novissimi belli asportatus, repertus est in California in Museo Paul Getty.
- QUILLET CLAUDIUS : De Vet J.J.V.M., “Het ‘Huwelijks mintafereel’, een leerdicht van Claude Quillet (1602-1661) in de achttiende eeuw”, *Documentatieblad Werkgroep achttiende eeuw*, XVII/1 (65-66) (Amsterdam, 1985), 51-66. De interpretatione Nederlandica (1722) poematis didactici c.t. *Callipaedia* (Lugduni Bat., 1655; Parisiis, 1656<sup>2</sup>). Additum est summarium Anglicum.
- RAPHAEL VOLATERRANUS : *Iliados libri I et II a Raphaelae Volaterrano latine versi*. Primum edidit R. Fabbri (Padova, 1984).

- ROGERS DANIEL : Waterschoot W., "De bijdrage van Daniel Rogers in het Album Amicorum van Lucas D'Heere", in Vander Motten J.P. (ed.), *Elizabethan and Modern Studies Presented to Professor W. Schrickx...* (Gent, 1985), pp. 297-307. Eduntur hendecasyllabi 'In Philophylacium (= Album amicorum) Lucae Dheri, pictoris celeberrimi', scripti Londinii 15 XI 1569.
- RONARDUS PETRUS : Smith M., "Lost Works by Ronsard", *The Library*, S. 6, 8 (1986), 109-126. De carminibus nonnullis et Latinis et Graecis deperditis. Afferuntur etiam disticha Latina (pp. 119-120), ex exemplari Francogallico deperdito in Latinum versa.
- ROSSI LUCIANUS : *Carmina macaronica*, a cura di G. Ponte, 2 vols (Genova, 1984).
- SANNAZARIUS IACOBUS : Fantazzi C., "The Making of the *De partu virginis*", in *ACNS*, pp. 127-134; — vide et supra : 1.8. : Ludwig.
- SCHRADER JOHANNES (Ternaard 1721 - Franeker 26 XI 1783) : Heesakkers C.L., "Johannes Schrader en zijn carmen elegiacum 'Pro Poetis'. De zwane-zang van de Neolatijnse dichtkunst", in G. Jensma, F. Smit, F. Westra (edd.), *Universiteit te Franeker 1585-1811* (Leeuwarden, Fryske Akademy, 1985), pp. 470-486. Poeta Frisius annis 1749 et 1759 poetas recentiores rector universitatis Franequeranae publice laudavit. Ipsius *carmina* anno 1786 Leovardiae prodierunt.
- SECUNDUS IANUS : vide supra : 2.1. : Ginsberg.
- SMETIUS HENRICUS : vide supra : 1.2. : Germania : Heidelberg.
- SOVRETUS ANTONIUS (Šavna Peč, 2 XII 1885 - Ljubljana, 1 V 1963) : Gantar C., "Ex Antonii Sovreti (1885-1963) versibus Latinis", *Vox Latina*, 22 (1986), 92-94. Scripsit epigrammata et poetas Slovenicos i.q. Franciscum Prešeren (1800-1849) Latine est interpretatus.
- STAY BENEDICTUS : vide supra : 1.2. : Croatia.
- SULPICIUS VERULANUS : vide supra : 1.2. : Mexicum.
- TAUBMANNUS FREDERICUS (Wonsees/Franken, 1565 - Wittenberg, 1613) : Wiegand H., "Neulateinische Fastnacht. Die 'Bacchanalia' Friedrich Taubmanns von 1587", *Jahresbericht 1984-1985 Karl-Friedrich-Gymnasium Mannheim*, 54-63.
- TEBALDEUS ANTONIUS : vide supra : Andrelinus.
- URBANUS VIII : Salierno V., "I 'Poemata' di Urbano VIII", *Esopo*, n. 21 (Milano, 1984), 35-42. De re typographica; — Wallner G., "De poematis Latinis Urbani VIII", *Latinitas*, 33 (1985), 267-275. Excerpta quaedam; — vide et infra : 4.2. : Campanella.
- VAENIUS OTTO : Verhoeven P., "Civilis en zijn Bataven : symbool van Hollands patriottisme", *Hermeneus*, 58 (1986), 32-40.
- VIDA HIERONYMUS : La Penna A., "La teoria dell' 'Arte allusiva' nel *De Arte Poetica* di Gerolamo Vida", in *Perosa*, pp. 643-650; — vide et supra : 2.1. : Lieberg.
- WEDDERBURN ROBERTUS : Stewart A.M., "Aut ridenda omnia aut flenda sunt" : Heraklit und Demokrit in Schottland", in *ACNS*, pp. 503-509. I.a. de carmine Latino operi Anglico inserto.
- ZAMAGNA BERNARDUS : vide supra : 1.2. : Croatia.
- ZANCHIUS BASILIUS : Lo Monaco F., "Postilla a un carmine di Basilio Zanchi (con una lettera inedita)", *Archivio storico bergamasco*, n. 6 (1984), 73-76.

## 3. SCAENICA

## 3.1. Generalia

- Bauer Barbara, *Jesuitische 'Ars rhetorica' im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe*, Mikrokosmos, Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Bedeutungsforschung, 18 (Frankfurt/M., Bern, New York, P. Lang, 1986). Copiose tractat Cyprianum Soarez S.J., *De arte rhetorica libri tres* (Conimbricae, 1560), Jacobum Pontanum S.J., *Progymnasmata* (Ingolstadii, 1588-1594), Jacobum Masenium S.J., *Palaestra oratoria* (Coloniae, 1569) et Franciscum Langium S.J., *Eloquentia sacra et profana* (Monachii, 1692).
- Eyffinger A.C., "Cui bono, si Agamemnon diserte loquitur? Achtergronden en doelstellingen van de Neolatijnse tragedie", *Lampas*, 18 (1985), 363-383. Imprimis agitur de Grotio et Heinsio.
- Griffin N. - Skrine P. recensuerunt libros E.M. Szarota, *Das Jesuitendrama im deutschen Sprachgebiet: Eine Periochen-Edition* et J.M. Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande*, *Modern Language Review*, 80 (1985), 981-986.
- Parente J.A., Jr., "The Development of Religious Tragedy: The Humanist Reception of the *Christos Paschon* in the Renaissance", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 16 (1985), 351-368.
- Id., "The Seventeenth-Century Literary Text: Aesthetic Problems and Perspectives", *Central European History*, 18 (1985), 48-69.
- Id., "Andreas Gryphius and Jesuit Theater", *Daphnis*, 13 (1984), 525-551.
- Pittaluga S., "Terenzio, Ovidio e la tradizione comica nella commedia del primo Umanesimo", *RPL*, 8 (1985), 231-243.
- TERENTIUS: Cupaiolo G., *Bibliografia Terenziana*, Studi e testi dell' antichità, 16 (Napoli, Soc. Ed. Napol., 1984).

## 3.2. Scriptores scaenici

- ANGELIUS JOHANNES: Herding O., "Erasmische Friedensschriften im 17. Jahrhundert: *Precatio ad Dominum Jesum pro Pace Ecclesiae*", in *Reedijk*, pp. 151-156. Johannes Angelius de Werdenhagen, *Diae Pacis et Concordiae Efflagitationes ex D. Erasmo et aliis claris auctoribus in scaenam reproductae* (Francofurti, 1642).
- BARONIUS CAESAR: Stegmann A., "Baronius et le théâtre français (1600-1640)", in *Actes du tricentenaire de Corneille (Rouen)* (Paris, PUF, 1985).
- BERNARDT GEORGIUS S.J. (München, 1595-): *Dramen*, II: "*Tundalus Redivivus*" 1622. *Eine Jenseitsversion aus dem dreissigjährigen Krieg nach der mittelalterlichen "Visio Tnugdali"*. Lateinisch und deutsch. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von F. Rädle (Amsterdam und Maarssen, APA-Holland U.P., 1985).
- BUCHANANUS GEORGIUS: Martyn J.R.C., "The Tragedies of Buchanan, Teive and Ferreira", in *ACNS*, pp. 85-98; — Walsh P.G., "Buchanan and Classical Drama", in *ACNS*, pp. 99-112; — vide et infra: Lummenaeus a Marca.

- (COLLEGIUM ANGLICUM - ROMAE): *Hierarchomachia or the Anti-Bishop*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Suzanne Gossett (New Jersey, Bucknell U.P., 1982).
- CRULLUS PETRUS: vide supra: 1.2.: Belgium: Trudonopolis.
- DONISIUS JOANNES BAPTISTA VERONENSIS (saec. XV): Mariotti S. - Rizzo Silvia, "Contributi al testo della *Comedia Pamphile* di Donisius", in *Perosa*, pp. 223-233. Emendationes editionis K. Langosch (1979).
- EUCHARIUS (HOUGHARIUS) ELIGIUS (Gent, 1488-1544): Bockstaele P., "Gielis van den Hoecke en zijn *Sonderlinghe Boeck in dye edel conste Arithmetica* 1537", *Academiae Analecta: Mededelingen Kon. Academie voor W.L.S.K. van België. Klasse der Wetenschappen*, 47 (Brussel, 1985), num. 1, 1-29. Nova quaedam adfert biographica de Eligio Euchario, poeta comico Gandavensi (pp. 6-9). — Janssens Lutgard, *De Grisellis van Eucharius. Kritische editie en vertaling* (Unpubl. lic. diss. Kath. Univ. Leuven, 1986).
- GAGER WILLIAM: *Dido Tragoedia*: herausgegeben, übersetzt, eingeleitet und kommentiert von U. Baumann und M. Wissemann, Bibliotheca humanistica, 1 (Frankfurt/M., Bern, New York, P. Lang, 1985).
- "IANUS SACERDOS": Viti P., "Sulle fonti dello *Ianus Sacerdos*", *Interpres* 5 (1984), 266-276.
- LANGIUS FRANCISCUS: vide supra: 3.1.: Bauer.
- LUMMENAEUS A MARCA JACOBUS (Gent, 1570 - Douai, 1629): Merlevede J., *Het Iephte-drama van J. Lummenaeus a Marca. Synoptische uitgave en vergelijking met de Iephtes van G. Buchanan* (Unpubl. lic. diss. Kath. Univ. Leuven, 1986). Editio Synoptica quintuplex. — vide supra: 1.2.: ITALIA/ROMA (J. IJsewijn).
- MASENIUS JACOBUS: vide supra: 3.1.: Bauer.
- POLITIANUS ANGELUS: Bombieri Giovanna, "Osservazioni sul *Prologo ai Menecmi* di Angelo Poliziano", in *Perosa*, pp. 489-506.
- PONTANUS JACOBUS: vide supra: 3.1.: Bauer.
- REMACLUS ARDUENNA: Demoulin Anne, *De "Palamedes" van Remacles Arduenna (1512). Uitgave, vertaling, studie* (Unpubl. lic. diss. Kath. Univ. Leuven, 1986).
- REYLOF OLIVERIUS: Kluyskens P., "Olivier Reylof en zijn hotel in de hoogstraat", *Ghendtsche Tydinghen*, 13 (1984), 355-361.
- SCHONAEUS C.: Van de Venne H., "Cornelius Schonaeus 1541-1611. A Biography of His Printed Works", *HL*, 34 B (1985), 1-113.
- SOAREZ CYPRIANUS: vide supra: 3.1.: Bauer.
- TUCCIUS STEPHANUS S.J. (Monforte S. Giorgio, 1540 - Rome, 1597): Quiñones Melgoza J., "Observaciones sobre tres manuscritos y un impreso de la tragedia *Iuditha* de Stefano Tucci", *Relaciones: Estudios de Historia y Sociedad*, VII (El Colegio de Michoacán, Mexico, 1986), num. 26, 59-68.

#### 4. PROSA ORATIO

##### 4.1. Generalia

Bauer Barbara: vide supra: 3.1.



- D'Amico J.F., "The Progress of Renaissance Latin Prose: The Case of Apuleianism", *RQ*, 37 (1984), 351-392.
- Bowen, Barbara C., "Renaissance Collections of *Facetiae*, 1344-1490: A New Listing", *RQ*, 39 (1986), 1-15.
- Mulryan J., "Neo-Latin Sources in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*", in *ACNS*, pp. 459-463. Scaligeri, Ioachim Camerarius, Vives, ...
- Shuger Deborah, "The Christian Grand Style in Renaissance Rhetoric", *Viator*, 16 (1985), 337-365.

#### 4.2. *Scriptores pedestres*

- ACCOLTUS BENEDICTUS (Firenze, 1415-1464): Black R., *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance* (Cambridge U.P., 1985).
- AENEAS SILVIUS PICCOLOMINI: Naville Ch.-E., *Enea Silvio Piccolomini. L'uomo, l'umanista, il pontefice (1405-1464)* (Locarno, Ed. Analisi, 1984).
- ACOSTA JOSEPHUS S.J. (1540-1600): José de Acosta S.J., *De procuranda Indorum salute. Pacificación y colonización*. Por L. Pereña, V. Abril, C. Bacierio, A. Garcia, D. Ramos, J. Barrientos y F. Maseda, Corpus Hispanorum de pace, 23 (Madrid, C.S.I.C., 1984).
- A COSTA URIEL (GABRIEL) (Porto, saec. XVI ex. - Amsterdam, ca. 1647?): Uriel da Costa, *Espejo de una vida humana (Exemplar humanae vitae)*. Edición crítica de G. Albiac. Texto bilingüe (Madrid, Ediciones Hiperon, 1985). *Autobiographia Iudaea*.
- AGLYCION JOANNES: vide supra: 1.5.: Vandenbroeck.
- AGRICOLA RUDOLPHUS: Huisman Gerda C., *Rudolph Agricola. A Bibliography of Printed Works and Translations*, Bibliotheca bibliographica Neerlandica, XX (Nieuwkoop, De Graaf Publ., 1985). Opus perquam utile ad fortunam Agricolae cognoscendam. Haec tamen sciat lector: (1) desunt editiones sine nomine Agricolae, e.g. *Axiochus* pseudoplatonicus inter opera Marsili Ficini saepius recusus; (2) falso inter translationes adfertur Epistola Valerii (Eucherii). Haec epistola ab initio Latine scripta est; — Akkerman F., "De neolatijnse epistolografie - Rudolf Agricola", *Lampas*, 18 (1985), 321-337; — Mack P., "Rudolph Agricola's Reading of Literature", *Journal Warburg Courtauld Institutes*, 48 (1985), 23-41.
- ALBERTI LEO BAPTISTA: Grayson C., "Il *De Iure* di Leon Battista Alberti", in *Perosa*, pp. 173-194. Editio critica; — Ponte G., "La crisi della 'Compagnia di Corte', L'intercenale *Erumna* e il prologo alla *Famiglia* di L.B. Alberti", in *Perosa*, pp. 159-171.
- AMEROTIUS ADRIANUS (Soissons, ca. 1495? - Leuven, 1560): Hoven R., *Bibliographie de trois auteurs de grammaires grecques contemporains de Nicolas Clénard: Adrien Amerot, Arnold Oridryus, Jean Varennius* (B-4580 Aubel, Belgium, P.-M. Gason, 1985).
- ANDREAS BERNARDUS: vide infra: Livius Frulovisius.
- ARS POETICA KIJOVENSIS (1637): Krekoten' V.I., "Kyjivs'ka poetyka 1637 roku", in O.V. Myšanyč (ed.), *Literaturna spadščyna Kyjius'koji Rusii-ukrajins'ka literatura XVI-XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1981), pp. 118-154.
- BARBARUS HERMOLAUS: Branca V., "Fra mule gonzagesche e levrieri turchi.

- Una lettera inedita di Ermolao Barbaro a Gian Francesco Gonzaga, in *Perosa*, pp. 525-531.
- BARCLAIUS JOHANNES: Cloet An, "Een neolatijnse roman: De *Argenis* van John Barclay (1621)", *Lampas*, 18 (1985), 338-349.
- BARONIUS CAESAR: De Maio R. e.a. (edd.), *Baronio e l'Arte* (Sora, Centro Studi Sorani 'V. Patriarca', 1986). — vide et supra: 3.2.
- BEATUS RHENANUS: *Annuaire 1985, XXV: Les Amis de la Bibliothèque humaniste de Sélestat. Spécial 500<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de la naissance de Beatus Rhenanus* (Sélestat, 1985). Continet i.a. N. Holzberg, "Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547). Eine biographisch-forschungsgeschichtliche Bestandsaufnahme zum 500. Geburtstag des Humanisten", pp. 19-32; C. Vecce, "Il giovane Beato Renano e gli umanisti italiani a Parigi all'inizio del XVI secolo", pp. 131-140; Anna C. Dionisotti, "Beatus Rhenanus and Barbaric Latin", pp. 183-192; V. Muhlack, "B.R., Jakob Wimpheling und die humanistische Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland", pp. 193-208; — De Bellefroid Micheline, "La bibliothèque humaniste de Sélestat. Visite des bibliophiles belges Mai 1985", *Le livre et l'estampe*, 31 (1985), 126-153. — Fraenkel P., "Une lettre oubliée de Beatus Rhenanus. Sa préface à la liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome dédiée à Johannes Hoffmeister, 24 janvier 1540", *BHR* 48 (1986), 387-404.
- BEMBUS BERNARDUS (Venezia, 8 X 1433 - 27 V 1519): Giannetto Nella, *Bernardo Bembo. Umanista e politico Veneziano*, *Civiltà Veneziana*, Saggi, 34 (Firenze, Olschki, 1985). Vita, bibliotheca, documenta (i.a. oratio ad Innocentium VIII partim Latina, partim Italiana).
- BEMBUS PETRUS: Kilpatrick R., "The *De Aetna* of Pietro Bembo: A Translation", *Studies in Philology*, 83 (1986), 330-358.
- BEROALDUS PHILIPPUS Sr.: Mariotti I., "Lezioni di Beroaldo il Vecchio sulla *Tebaide*", in *Perosa*, pp. 577-593.
- BEVERLANDUS (BARLANDUS) HADRIANUS (Middelburg, ex. 1650 - London, 14 X 1716): De Smet R., "*De Prostibulis Veterum* van Hadriaan Beverland (1650-1716): een *Thesaurus Linguae Eroticae*", *Handelingen Kon. Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 39 (1985), 47-61.
- BOCCACCIO IOANNES: Pastore Stocchi M., "Da Crisippo al Boccaccio", in *Perosa*, pp. 139-158. De *Genealogia deorum*.
- BORROMAEUS FREDERICUS (1564-1631): Federico Borromeo, *Miscellanea adnotationum variarum*. A cura del Gruppo Editoriale Zaccaria (Milano, I quaderni di Palazzo Sormani, 1985). Editio princeps 'Argumentorum' CCCIL sive notarum autobiographicarum, quae incipiunt a die 30 X 1594. Argumenta I-XVIII Latine scripta sunt, cetera Italice.
- BRENTA ANDREAS (Padova, ca. 1454 - Roma, 1484): Casciano Paola, "A proposito di un falso umanistico: la *Caesaris Oratio Vesontione Belgicae ad milites habita* di Andrea Brenta, professore dello *Studium Urbis*", in *Sisto IV*, pp. 515-556. Additus est conspectus omnium operum Brentianorum.
- BRIÇONNET GULIELMUS: Veissière M., *L'évêque Guillaume Briçonnet (1470-1534). Contribution à la connaissance de la Réforme à la veille du Concile de Trente* (Provins, 1986).

- BRODERICUS STEPHANUS (Polyána seu Jarosin/Körös, ca. 1470 - Vác, 1539): *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Solymano Turcarum imperatore ad Mohach historia verissima*, ed. P. Kulcsár; *Oratio ad Adrianum VI Pontificem Maximum*, ed. C. Csapodi, Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum, ser. nova VI (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985).
- BRUNUS LEONARDUS: Bisaccia G., "Past/Present. Leonardo Bruni's History of Florence", *Renaissance and Reformation*, 21 (Mississauga, Ont., 1985), 1-18; — Quint D., "Humanism and Modernity: A Reconsideration of Bruni's Dialogues", *RQ*, 38 (1985), 423-445; — Zorzi Pugliese G., "Rites of Passage in Leonardo Bruni's 'Dialogues to Pier Paolo Vergerio'", *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 6 (1985), 127-140.
- BUCHANANUS GEORGIUS: Classen C.J., "The References to Classical Authors in Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*", in *ACNS*, pp. 3-29; — Durkan J., "Native Influences on George Buchanan", in *ACNS*, pp. 31-42.
- BUDAËUS GULIELMUS: Supple J.J., "'Nobilium culpa iacent literae': Guillaume Budé and the Education of the French 'Noblesse d'Épée'", in *ACNS*, pp. 399-407.
- CACCIANTEs BERNARDINUS (Alatri, ca. 1475 - Venezia, post 1547): Martini M., *Bernardino Cacciante Aletrinate. Contributo alla storia dell'Umanesimo*, Umanesimo Ciociaro, 3 (Sora, Centro di Studi Sorani "V. Patriarca", 1982). Eduntur nonnullae epistolae et Dialogus *Lamentatio*; item scriptum Italicum de mulieribus.
- CAMPANELLA THOMAS: Formichetti G., *Campanella critico letterario. I "Commentaria ad poemata" di Urbano VIII (Cod. Barb. Lat. 2037)* (Roma, Bulzoni, 1983).
- CARTESIUS RENATUS: Ginsberg R., "Text and Argument in Descartes's First and Second Meditations", in *ACNS*, pp. 343-350.
- CARDANUS HIERONYMUS: Pigeaud J., "L'Hippocratisme de Cardan. Étude sur le Commentaire d'A.E.L. par Cardan", *RPL*, 8 (1985), 219-229. Siglum A.E.L. Francogallice significat "Airs, Eaux, Lieux".
- CHLADENIUS JOANNES MARTINUS (Wittenberg, 17 IV 1710 - Erlangen, 10 IX 1759): Verschaffel B., "De historicus als spoorzoeker. Over *De Vestigiis* (1749) en het lezen van sporen in de geschiedtheorie van J.M. Chladenius", *Tijdschrift voor Filosofie*, 47 (Leuven, 1985), 582-604. "Remarkable anticipation of recent discussions in semiotics".
- CIOFANUS HERCULES (Sulmona, 1545? - 8 XI 1591): Papponetti G., "Per la biografia di Hercole Ciofano", *Misura. Rassegna trimestr. di Abruzzesistica*, N.S. 4 (L'Aquila, 1982-85), num. 2, 12-26.
- CLENARDUS NICOLAUS: Rodrigues M.A., "Nicolau Clenardo Hebraista", *Humanitas*, 33-34 (Coimbra, 1982), 49-80.
- COLLENUCIUS PANDULPHUS: Minicucci Angela, "De Cicerone apud Pandulphum Collenucium", *RPL*, 8 (1985), 187-190.
- COMENIUS JOANNES AMOS: Borovka S., "Interlingua, latino moderno, secundo le intentiones de J.A. Comenius simplicate, del fin del XX seculo", in *Concilium Eirene XVI: Proceedings of the 16th International Eirene Conference, Prague 31.8 - 4.9.1982*, ed. P. Oliva and Alena Froliková (Prague, 1983), vol. 2, pp. 314-318. Commentatiuncula lingua 'Interlingua' scripta;

- Caravolas J., "L'Influence des Pays-Bas et de Grotius sur la pensée de Comenius", *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies*, 6 (1985), 86-99.
- DATUS AUGUSTINUS (Siena, II 1420 - 8 IV 1478): Viti P., "Il *Chaerea* di Agostino Dati", in *Perosa*, pp. 195-222. Nova dialogi editio.
- DECEMBRIUS PETRUS CANDIDUS (Pavia, 1392 - Milano, 1477): Pier Candido Decembrio, *Vita di Filippo Maria Visconti*. A cura di E. Bartolini, Piccola biblioteca Adelphi, 156 (Milano, 1983). Interpretatio Italiana notis illustrata.
- DE DOMINIS MARCUS ANTONIUS (1560-1624): De Mas E., "Il 'De radiis visus et lucis'. Un trattato scientifico pubblicato a Venezia nel 1611 dallo stesso editore del 'Sidereus nuncius'", in *Novità celesti e crisi del sapere. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi galileiani* (Firenze, Ist. e Museo di storia della scienza, 1983), pp. 159-166.
- DOLETUS STEPHANUS: Chomarat J., "Dolet et Erasme", in *Etienne Dolet (1509-1546)*, Cahiers V.L. Saulnier, 3 (Paris, Ecole Norm. Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 1986), pp. 21-36; — Lloyd-Jones K., "Fatum in the Writings of Etienne Dolet", in *ACNS*, pp. 359-361; — Longeon C., "Cohérences d'Étienne Dolet", in *ACNS*, pp. 363-369.
- DOMINICI JOHANNES: Mésoniat C., *Poetica Theologia. La 'Lucula Noctis' di Giovanni Dominici e le dispute letterarie tra '300 à '400*, Uomini e dottrine, 27 (Roma, Storia e Letteratura, 1984).
- DORPIUS MARTINUS (Naaldwijk, 1485 - Leuven, 31 V 1525): Martini Dorpii Naldiceni *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis* ed. J. IJsewijn (Leipzig, Teubner, 1986). *Locus Theocriteus*, quem ante librum editum non inveni (cf. p. 109 ad 1, 7) est *Ecl.* VI 18-19, quem Dorpius novit ex Adagiiis Erasmi I II. 15 (J.II.).
- DOUSA JANUS: Heesakkers C.L., "De Neolatijnse historiografie - Janus Dousa", *Lampas*, 18 (1985), 384-401.
- EDER FRANCISCUS, S.J. (Schemnitz/Banská Stiavnica, 1 IX 1727 - Neusohl/Banská Bystrica, 17 IV 1772 [1751-1768 in Peru/Bolivia]): Francisco J. Eder, S.J., *Breve Descripción de las Reducciones de Mojos*. Traducción y edición de J.M. Barnadas (Cochabamba/Bolivia, Historia Boliviana [Casilla 2946], 1985). *Translatio Hispanica Descriptionis Provinciae Moxitarum in Regno Peruano* (Budae, 1791) secundum codicem ms. (auctiorem) Bibliothecae Universitatis Budapestinae, Coll. Prayana, vol. L.
- ELLEBODIUS NICASIUS (Cassel, 1535 - Pozsony = Bratislava, 4 VI 1577): Klaniczay T., "Lovanio, Roma, Padova, Ungheria: gli studi dell'umanista fiammingo Nicasio Ellebodio", in *Roma e l'Italia nel contesto della storia delle Università Ungheresi*, Studi e fonti per la storia dell'Università di Roma, 5 (Roma, Ed. dell'Ateneo, 1985), pp. 97-113.
- ERASMUS DESIDERIUS: *Opera omnia*, V 2: *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, pars prior, edd. A. Godin (I), S. Dresden (II-III), Ch. Béné (IV, XIV, XXII) (Amsterdam, Noord-Holland, 1985) (vide supra, pp. 284-286, *Instrumentum Criticum*); — Érasme de Rotterdam et Thomas More, *Correspondance*. Traduction, introduction et notes par G. Marc'hadour et R. Galibois, Publications du Centre d'Études de la Renaissance, 10 (Sherbrooke, Université, 1985); — Kristeller P.O., "Una lettera inedita di Erasmo a Hutten conservata a Firenze", in *Perosa*, pp. 629-641; — Avarucci G., "Due codici

- scritti da 'Gerardus Helye' padre di Erasmo", *IMU* 26 (1983), 215-255. Vide autem de novo nativitatis Erasmi anno ab Avaruccio proposito quae scripsit J. IJsewijn, *WRM* 9 (1985), 127-129; — Brown A.J., "The Date of Erasmus' Latin Translation of the New Testament", *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8 (1984), 351-380; — Casiraghi A., "Due modelli di Chiesa : Erasmo da Rotterdam e Giulio II Della Rovere", in *Diritto, persona e vita sociale. Scritti Giacchi*, 2 (Milano, 1984), pp. 204-229; — Chomarat J., "Paideia et Rhétorique chez Erasme", *Bulletin Association G. Budé*, (1986), num. 1, 67-78; — de Jonge H.J., "Novum Testamentum a nobis verum : the essence of Erasmus' Edition of the New Testament", *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 35 (1984), 394-413; — Jolidon A., "Histoire d'un opusculé d'Erasme : La *Brevissima maximeque compendiaria conficiendarum epistolarum formula*", in *ACNS*, pp. 229-243; — Krüger F., *Humanistische Evangelienauslegung. Desiderius Erasmus von Rotterdam als Ausleger der Evangelien in seinen Paraphrasen*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, 68 (Tübingen, Mohr, 1986); — Lauvergnat-Gagnière Christiane, "Les *Adages* d'Erasme et la Censure Tridentine", in *ACNS*, pp. 245-251; — Magnien M., "Scaliger et Erasme", in *ACNS*, pp. 253-261; — Margetts M., "Erasmus' *Colloquia*. Dramatic Elements real and metaphorical", *Renaissance and Reformation*, 20 (Mississauga, Ont., 1984), 1-18; — Olin J.C., "Eloquentia, Eruditio, Fides : Erasmus' Life of Jerome", in *ACNS*, pp. 269-274; — O'Malley J.W., "Erasmus and the History of Sacred Rhetoric : The Ecclesiastes of 1535", *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook*, 5 (1985), 1-29; — Rummel E., "Nameless Critics in Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament", *BHR*, 48 (1986), 41-57; — Trapman J., "De eerste Nederlandse vertaling van Erasmus' *Moria* (Emden, 1560) en Sebastiaan Franck", in *Reedijk*, pp. 308-315; — vide et supra : 2.2. : Alcicius : Callahan; Erasmus; 4.2. : Doletus : Chomarat.
- FARINACCIUS PROSPER : Conte E., *Accademie studentesche a Roma nel Cinquecento. De modis docendi et discendi in iure*, Studi e Fonti per la storia dell' Università di Roma, 4 (Roma, 1985). Oratio ad exemplum disputationis Coluccii Salutati *De nobilitate legum et medicinae*.
- FERRONUS ARNOLDUS BURDIGALENSIS : Boscherini S., "A proposito della traduzione del *Pro Nobilitate* pseudo-plutarcho", in *Perosa*, pp. 651-660. "Pro Nobilitate" libri fragmentum (spurium) Latine prodiit Lugduni, 1556.
- FICINUS MARSILIUS : Kristeller P.O., "Marsilio Ficino and the Roman Curia", *HL*, 34 A (1985), 83-98. — vide supra 1.5. : PLATO.
- FIDELIS CASSANDRA (Venezia, 1465 - 1558) : Schlam C.C., "Cassandra Fidelis as a Latin Orator", in *ACNS*, pp. 185-191.
- FLORIUS FRANCISCUS : Tournoy G., "Francesco Florio, nouvelliste italien", in *ACNS*, pp. 193-202.
- FONTIUS BARTHOLOMAEUS : Di Benedetto F., "Fonzio e Landino su Orazio", in *Perosa*, pp. 437-453.
- FOULLON SERVATIUS : vide supra : 1.2. : Belgium : Trudonopolis.
- FOX MORCILLO SEBASTIANUS : Truman R.W., "Sebastián Fox Morcillo's *De regni regisque institutione* (Antwerp, 1556) : Humanist Approaches to Empiricism", in *ACNS*, pp. 283-291.

- FRACASTORIUS HIERONYMUS: Michel A., "Cicéron maître de poétique: le *Naugerius* de Fracastor", in *Ciceroniana. Atti del V Colloquium Tullianum ... 1982* (Roma, Centro di Studi Ciceroniani, 1984), pp. 161-165.
- GALATEUS ANTONIUS: Andrioli Nemola P., "Per un' edizione della 'Vituperatio galatea'", *Critica letteraria*, 13 (1984), 442-474; — Moro D., "Per una rilettura della 'Vituperatio litterarum' di Antonio Galateo", *Esperienze letterarie*, 19 (1985), 63-92; — Vecce C., "Antonio Galateo e la Difesa della Donazione di Costantino", *Aevum*, 59 (1985), 353-360. Editur epistola ad Iulium II P.M., qua exemplum Graecum Donationis a se Hydrunti descriptum offert dum Romam venit (1505?).
- GEORGIIUS TRAPEZUNTIUS: *Collectanea Trapezuntiana. Texts, Documents and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond*. Edited by J. Monfasani, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 25 (Binghamton, NY, The Renaissance Society of America, 1984).
- GERALDINI ANTONIUS: vide supra: 2.2.
- GIPHANIUS OBERTUS (Buren/Gelderland, 1533 aut 1534 - Praha, 1604): Heesakkers C.L., "Le procureur Obertus Giphanius (5 novembre 1566-4 janvier 1567)", *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique de l'Orléanais*, N.S. IX, num. 68 (1985), 133-153.
- GRATIUS ORTUINUS: Mehl J.V., "Ortwin Gratius, Conciliarism, and the Call for Church Reform", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 76 (1985), 169-194.
- GROTIUS HUGO: Nellen H.J.M., *Hugo de Groot (1583-1645). De loopbaan van een geleerd staatsman* (Weesp, Uitgeverij Heureka [Hoogstraat 20, NL - 1381 VS Weesp], 1985).
- GYÖNGYÖSI (GENGYESI) GREGORIUS (1472-1530/1540): Sarbak G., "Appunti al *Decalogus* di Gergely Gyöngyösi, priore generale dell'Ordine dei Paolini, pubblicato a Roma", *HL*, 34 A (1985), 228-235.
- GYRALDUS LILIUS GREGORIUS: Mund-Dopchie Monique, "Lilio Gregorio Gyraldi et sa contribution à l'histoire des tragiques grecs au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle", *HL*, 34 A (1985), 137-149.
- HALL IOSEPHUS: Wands J., "The Theory of Climate in the English Renaissance and *Mundus Alter et Idem*", in *ACNS*, pp. 519-529.
- INGHIRAMUS THOMAS PHAEDRA: Gualdo Rosa Lucia, "Ciceroniano o cristiano? A proposito dell'Orazione *De Morte Christi* di Tommaso Fedra Inghirami", *HL*, 34 A (1985), 52-64.
- JACOBI CAROLUS GUSTAVUS JACOBUS (Potsdam, 10 XII 1804 - Berlin, 18 II 1851): Eichenseer C., "De mathematica moderna Latine tractata", *Vox Latina*, 22 (Saarbrücken, 1986), 96-99.
- JOANNES DE MONSTERIOLO: Cecchetti D., "Temi umanistici nell'opera di Jean de Montreuil", *Le Moyen Français*, 8-9 (1983), 37-110.
- JOHANNES DE THUROCZ (ca. 1435 - 1488 aut 1489?), *Chronica Hungarorum*, I: *Textus*. Ediderunt Elisabeth Galántai et J. Kristó, *Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum*, ser. nova, VII (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985). Editio critica operis quod auctor ultimis vitae annis composuit. Genus dicendi Mediam Aetatem sapit, renascentibus litteris vix tinctum.
- KÄMPFER ENGELBERTUS (Lemgo, 1651-1716): Carrubba R.W., "Engelbert

- Kaempfer's Account of the Ordeal by Crocodile in Siam", in *ACNS*, pp. 561-568. Agitur de *Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-mediciarum fasciculis V, quibus continentur variae relationes, observationes et descriptiones rerum Persicarum et Ulterioris Asiae*.
- KEPLER JOHANNES (1571-1630): Ducos Michèle, *Johann Kepler, Le Songe ou l'astronomie lunaire* (P.U. de Nancy, 1984); — Ead., "Un voyage dans la lune au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: 'Le songe' de Kepler", *Bulletin Association G. Budé*, (1985), num. 1, 63-72.
- KIRCHER ATHANASIVS S.J. (1602-1680): Braven F., "Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680)", *Journal History Ideas*, 43 (1982), 129-134; — Rivoecchi V., *Esotismo in Roma barocca. Studi sul padre Kircher*, Bibl. di Storia dell'Arte, 12 (Roma, Bulzoni, 1982).
- KVETNICKIJ THEODORUS (Mosquae, saec. XVIII): Fedor Kvetnickij, *Clavis Poetica. Eine Handschrift der Leninbibliothek Moskau aus dem Jahre 1732 mit einer Einleitung herausgegeben von B. Uhlenbruch*, Rhetorica Slavica, III (Köln-Wien, Böhlau, 1985). Codex photographice proponitur, non transcribitur. Introductio de arte poetica in imperio Russico (Mosquae, Kijoviae ...) valde utilis.
- LANCISIUS JOANNES MARIA (Roma, 26 X 1645 - 1720): Lambertini G., "Giovanni Maria Lancisi scienziato e archiatra pontificio", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 2-3 maggio 1986, 3. Medicus et scriptor Latinus egregius: *De sede cogitantis animae; De repentinis mortibus libri II; De noxiis paludum effluviis eorumque remediis libri II* (1717); *De motu cordis et aneurysmatibus* (1728); epistolae.
- LANDINUS CHRISTOPHORUS: Di Cesare M., "Cristoforo Landino: the Virgilian Commentator and Critic as Hero", in *Virgil*, pp. 19-32.
- LASICIUS JOHANNES (1534 - Zaslavl/Minsk, 1599): V. Chaton excerptum "De nuptiarum ritu Russorum" adfert e libro *De Russorum ... ritu* (1582) in *Vita Latina*, num. 102 (m. Iunio 1986), 19-20.
- LIBELLIUS LILIUS EGIDIUS: vide supra: 2.2.
- LIPPUS LAURENTIUS: Timpanaro S., "Appunti per un futuro editore del *Liber Proverbiorum* di Lorenzo Lippi", in *Perosa*, pp. 391-435.
- LIPSIUS JUSTUS: Enenkel K.A.E., "De neolatijnse Politica - Justus Lipsius, *Politicorum libri sex*", *Lampas*, 18 (1985), 350-362; — Schrijvers P.H., "Literary and Philosophical Aspects of Lipsius' *De Constantia in Publicis Malis*", in *ACNS*, pp. 275-282.
- LIVIVS FRULOVISIUS TITUS: Blackwell C.W.T., "Humanism and Politics in English Royal Biography: The Use of Cicero, Plutarch and Sallust in the *Vita Henrici Quinti* (1438) by Titus Livius de Frulovisi and the *Vita Henrici Septimi* (1500-1503) by Bernard André", in *ACNS*, pp. 431-440.
- LOGUS GEORGIUS (ca. 1500 - 11 IV 1553): Schaeffer P., "Humanism on Display: The Epistles Dedicatory of Georg von Logau", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 17 (1986), 215-223.
- MAGNUS OLAHUS ET JOHANNES: Johannesson K., *Gotisk renässans. Johannes och Olaus Magnus som politiker och historiker* (Stockholm, Almqvist och Wicksell, 1982).

- MALDONATUS JOHANNES (1485-post 1550): Juan de Maldonado, *Hispaniola - La Española*. Edición, introducción, traducción y notas de M.<sup>a</sup> Angeles Durán Ramas (Barcelona, Bosch, 1983).
- MARANTA BARTHOLOMAEUS VENUSINUS (saec. XVI): Tateo F., "La critica virgiliana di B. Maranta e l'Ermogene latino di A. Bonfini", in *Perosa*, pp. 661-673. Tractat *Marantae Lucullianarum Quaestionum libros quinque* (Basileae, 1564).
- MARIANA JOHANNES S.J. (1536-1624): Martín Acera F., "El diálogo 'De morte et immortalitate' de Juan de Mariana y las 'Tusculanae disputationes' de Cicerón", *Helmantica*, 34 (1983), 415-442.
- MARIUS AUGUSTINUS: vide supra: 1.5.: Vandenbroeck.
- MATURINUS GILBERTUS: vide supra: 1.2.: Mexicum.
- MIÑANA JOSEPHUS EMMANUEL (Valentia, 15 X 1671 - 27 VII 1730): *La Guerra de Sucesión en Valencia (De bello rustico Valentino)*. Introducción, Texto Latino, Traducción, Notas y Indices Nominum et Rerum de F.J. Pérez i Dura y J.M. Estellés i Gonzalez. Prólogo de A. Mestre (Valencia, Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1985). Eduntur in appendice (1) Emmanuelis Martini *Monita ad Mignanam*; (2) Gregorii Majansii *Vita Minianae*.
- MORINGUS GERARDUS: vide supra: 1.2.: Belgium: Trudonopolis.
- MORUS THOMAS: *Thomas More and the Classics*. Edited by R. Keen and D. Kinney = *Moreana*, num. 86 (July 1985). Continet commentationes VIII de operibus Mori eiusque usu veterum (Ciceronis, Luciani, Martialis, etc.). J. Chomarat historicos Latinos non solum apud Morum sed et in Erasmo perquisivit; — Grant P., "Thomas More's *Richard III*. Moral Narration and Humanist Method", *Renaissance and Reformation*, 19 (Mississauga, Ont., 1983), 89-105; — Marc'hadour G., "Fuitne Thomas Morus in Aulam Pertractus?", in *ACNS*, pp. 441-448; — McCutcheon Elizabeth, "*Mendacium Dicere* and *Mentiri*: A Utopian Crux", in *ACNS*, pp. 449-457; — Wilson K.J., "*Usque ad aras*: Thomas Elyot's Friendship with Thomas More", in *ACNS*, pp. 531-535; — Wooden W.W. † - Wall J.N., jr., "Thomas More and the Painter's Eye: Visual Perspective and Artistic Purpose in More's *Utopia*", *JMRS*, 15 (1985), 231-263.
- MUDAEUS GABRIEL (1500-): Robaye R., "Tradition et humanisme à la Faculté des Lois de Louvain vers 1550: un initiateur, Gabriel Mudée", *Les études classiques*, 54 (1986), 47-57.
- MURETUS MARCUS ANTONIUS: vide supra: 1.5.: Tacitus.
- NANNIUS PETRUS: Screech M.A., "Greek in the Collège Trilingue of Paris and the Collegium Trilingue at Louvain: à propos of Professor O. Reverdin's lecture at the Collège de France", *BHR*, 48 (1986), 85-90.
- ORIDRYUS ARNOLDUS (Bergeik?, ca. 1500-Edingen/Enghien, 1533): vide supra: Amerotius.
- OSORIO HIERONYMUS (Lisboa, 1506 - Tavira, 20 VIII 1580): Rodrigues M.A., "A obra exegetica de D. Jerónimo Osório no contexto do Humanismo, da Reforma e da Contra-Reforma", *Theologica*, 16 (Braga, 1983), 5-45.
- PAOLI HUGO HENRICUS: Sacré D., "De Hugone Henrico Paoli lucubratiuncula", *Melissa*, num. 6 (Bruxellis, m. Aprili 1985), 4-5. Iterum editur *De regis filia pulcherrima*.



- PERION IOACHIMUS: Demaizière Colette, "Du recours à l'histoire comme argument linguistique dans deux œuvres latines du seizième siècle", in ACNS, pp. 309-317. Agitur de (1) Ioachimi Perion, *Dialogorum de linguae gallicae origine eiusque cum graeca cognatione libris IV* (Par., 1555); (2) Bovelli, *Libro de differentia vulgarij linguarum et gallici sermonis varietate* (Par., 1533).
- PEROTTUS NICOLAUS: Boldrini S., "La Trebisonda del Perotti (una lettera a papa Niccolò V)", *Maia*, N.S. 36 (1984), 71-83; — Id., "Perotti e le favole di Fedro (la formazione dell' *Epitome*)", *RPL*, 8 (1985), 9-20; — Marucchi Adriana, "Codici di Niccolò Perotti nella Biblioteca Vaticana", *HL*, 34 A (1985), 99-125; — Pizzani U., "I metri di Boezio nell'interpretazione di Niccolò Perotti", *RPL*, 8 (1985), 245-253.
- PETRARCHA FRANCISCUS: Baron H., *Petrarch's Secretum. Its Making and its Meaning*, Medieval Academy Books, 94 (Cambridge, Mass., The Medieval Academy of America, 1985); — McClure G.W., "Healing Eloquence: Petrarch, Salutati, and the Physicians", *JMRS*, 15 (1985), 317-346; — Robbins J., "Petrarch Reading Augustine: The Ascent of Mont Ventoux", *Philological Quarterly*, 64 (1985), 533-554.
- PLATINA BARTHOLOMAEUS: Milham Mary Ella, "Platina and the Illnesses of the Roman Academy", in ACNS, pp. 173-176. Tractatur *De honesta voluptate*; — Rubinstein N., "The *De Optimo Cive* and the *De Principe* by Bartolomeo Platina", in *Perosa*, pp. 375-389; — vide et supra: 2.2.: Flemming Rob.
- POGGIUS BRACCIOLINUS: Kajanto I., "Poggio Bracciolini and Classical Epigraphy", *Arctos. Acta Philol. Fennica*, 19 (1985), 19-40; — Merisalo Outi, "Le prime edizioni stampate del *De Varietate Fortunae* di Poggio Bracciolini. I. *India recognita* (1492 circa) a cura di Cristoforo da Bollate (Christophorus Bullatus)", *Arctos. Acta Philol. Fennica*, 19 (1985), 81-102. Poggii liber quartus primum typis editus est a Christophoro Bullato Mediolanensi, cuius epistola dedicatoria hic denuo offertur (pp. 101-102) et Latinitas tractatur.
- POLITIANUS ANGELUS: Cesarini Martinelli Lucia, "'De poesi et poetis': uno schedario sconosciuto di Angelo Poliziano", in *Perosa*, pp. 455-487.
- PONTANUS IOANNES IOVIANUS: Monti Sabia Liliana, "Per l'edizione critica del *De Prudentia* di Giovanni Pontano", in *Perosa*, pp. 595-615; — Regali M., "La discussione contro i 'Grammatici' e l'ideale di cultura del Pontano nell' *Antonius*", *RPL*, 8 (1985), 255-262; — Trinkaus C., "The Astrological Cosmos and Rhetorical Culture of Giovanni Gioviano Pontano", *RQ*, 38 (1985), 446-472.
- PORTUS FRANCISCUS (Rethymnon/Creta, 1511 - Genève, 1581): Mund-Dopchie Monique, "François Portus et les Tragiques grecs", in ACNS, pp. 597-603.
- POSTEL GULIELMUS: *Guillaume Postel 1581-1981. Actes du Colloque International d'Avranches, 5-9 sept. 1981*, ed. G. Trédaniel (Éditions de la Maisnie; 76, rue Claude-Bernard, F-75005 Paris, 1985). Commentationes XXVIII quadripartito dispositae: (1) Postel et son temps; (2) Héritages et Influences; (3) Concorde et Cosmopolitisme; (4) Langues et Sciences; — Leathers Kunz Marion, "Umanesimo, dissenso e riforma nel pensiero di Guglielmo Postello", *RPL*, 8 (1985), 119-130.

- PRATEL ANTONIUS FRANCISCUS DE, S.J. (Gent, ca. 1652 - Leuven, 19 I 1734): Swiggers P., "Een XVIII<sup>e</sup>-eeuwse 'Boergondische' Grammatica uit Leuven", *Museumstrip*, 13 (Stadsmuseum Leuven, 1986), num. 2, 20-23. Breviter proponitur *Grammatica Burgundica* (= Francogallica) *contractis copiosa praeceptis exornata* (Lovanii, 1717).
- PUBLICIUS JACOBUS (saec. XV): Sottili A., *Giacomo Publicio, "Hispanus" e la diffusione dell'Umanesimo in Germania*, Publicaciones del Seminario de Literatura medieval y humanística (Univ. Autónoma de Barcelona, Fac. de Letras, Bellaterra, Barcelona, 1985).
- PUTEANUS ERYCIUS: Welkenhuysen A., "Erycius Puteanus, Heer van Keizersberg, over het beleg en ontzet van Leuven in 1635. Voorstelling, vertaling en aantekeningen", *Loven Boven*, 15 (Leuven, Abdij Keizersberg, 1985), num. 3, 10-30. Nederlandice vertuntur partes *Historiae Belgicae libri singularis de obsidione Lovaniensi anni M.DC.XXXV* (Antverpiae, 1636).
- RAMUS PETRUS: Bruyère N., *Méthode et dialectique dans l'œuvre de La Ramée. Renaissance et Age classique* (Paris, 1984).
- RENAZZI PHILIPPUS MARIA: *Oratio de studiis Litterarum ad bonum reipublicae referendis habita in Romano Archigymnasio VI. Kal. Decembr. An. M.DCC. LXXXI in solemnii studiorum instauratione*. Iterum edita: *Latinitas*, 34 (1986), 99-107.
- ROTIUS CAROLUS S.J.: vide supra: 1.2.: Italia: Roma: IJsewijn.
- RUDDIMANNUS THOMAS (1674-1757): Pfister R., "Thomas Ruddimans *Grammaticae Latinae Institutiones*", in *ACNS*, pp. 465-469.
- SALUTATUS COLUCCIUS: Coluccio Salutati, *De Fato et Fortuna*, a cura di Concetta Bianca, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, Studi e Testi, X (Firenze, Olschki, 1985). Editio critica, cui commentatio historico-philologica maximi momenti maximaeque curae est praemissa; — Kahn Victoria, "Coluccio Salutati on the Active and Contemplative Lives", in Vickers B. (ed.), *Arbeit-Musse-Meditation. Betrachtungen zur Vita Activa und Vita Contemplativa* (Zürich, Verlag der Fachvereine, 1985), pp. 153-179. Tractat librum *De nobilitate legum et medicine*; — vide et supra: Farnaccius.
- SALVIATUS GEORGIUS BENIGNUS: Vasoli C., "Un commento Scotista a un sonnetto del Magnifico: L'*Opus septem quaestionum* di Giorgio Benigno Salviati", in *Perosa*, pp. 533-575.
- SAMBUCUS IOANNES: Dekker A.M.M., "Ein unbekannter Brief des Johannes Sambucus über die Duilius-Inschrift", in Den Boeft J. - Kessels A.H.M. (edd.), *Actus: Studies in Honour of H.L.W. Nelson* (Utrecht, 1982), pp. 89-108.
- SANCTIUS BROCENSIS (Sanchez de la Brozas), *Obras*, I: *Escritos retóricos*. Introd., trad. y notas por Eust. Sanchez Salor y C. Chaparro Gomez (Cacères, Institución cultural "El Brocense", 1984). Eduntur (1) *De arte dicendi liber unus* (Salmanticae, 1569); (2) *Organum dialecticum et rhetoricum* (Lugduni, 1579).
- SCALIGER JULIUS CAESAR: *La Statue et l'empreinte: la Poétique de Scaliger*. Études réunies et présentées par C. Balavoine et P. Laurens (Paris, Urin,

- 1986). Acta colloquii Turonensis anno 1983 habiti et bibliographia Scaligeriana a Michaelae Magnien aucta; — vide et supra: Erasmus: Magnien.
- SCALIGER JOSEPHUS JUSTUS: Grafton A., "From *De die natali* to *De emendatione temporum*: the Origins and Setting of Scaliger's Chronology", *Journal Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 48 (1985), 100-143.
- SCHLEIERMACHER FRIEDRICH D.E. (Breslau, 1768 - Berlin, 1834): *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, herausgegeben von H.-J. Birkner, Erste Abt.: *Schriften und Entwürfe*, Bd. 1: *Jugendschriften 1787-1796*, herausg. von G. Meckenstock (Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 1984). Pp. 499-510: *Philosophia politica Platonis et Aristoteles*. Est dissertatiuncula hieme 1793-94 Berolini scripta.
- SEPULVEDA IOANNES GENESIVS CORDUBENSIS († 1573): *De rebus gestis Caroli V imperatoris et regis Hispaniae historia, libri II-IX*. Texto establecido y traducido por Elena Rodríguez Peregrina (Tesis doctoral, Granada, 1985). Prima editio critica e codicibus manu scriptis eruta.
- SIGONIUS CAROLUS: Mc Cuaig W.W., *Carlo Sigonio (c. 1523-1584): A Study in Late Humanism* (Unpubl. Ph.D. Diss. Warburg Inst., Univ. of London, 1984). Parte prima nova continetur biographia, quinta tractatur *Consolatio pseudo-Ciceroniana*.
- SINCERUS (ZINZERLING) IODOCUS THURINGUS (ca. 1590 - Mecklenburg, 16. .): Balzert Monica, "Proprio equo uti te velim, ut quo libeat, declinare possis", *Vox Latina*, 22 (1986), 68-73 + 112. Excerpta ex *Itinerario Galliae* (inter 1612 et 1655 Argentorati, Amstelodami, etc. octies editus liber est).
- SPINOZA BARUCH: Van der Werf T. and Siebrand H. - Westerveen C., *A Spinoza Bibliography 1971-1983*, Mededelingen vanwege het Spinozahuis, 46 (Leiden, Brill, 1985).
- TARDIVUS GUILIELMUS (ca. 1436 - ca. 1495): Beltran E., "L'humaniste Guillaume Tardif", *BHR*, 48 (1986), 7-39.
- TURNEBUS ADRIANUS: Coleman Dorothy Gabe, "Du Bellay, Turnèbe and Montaigne", in *ACNS*, pp. 299-308.
- UGOLINUS IOANNES (Firenze, 18 V 1478): Zanato T., "Giovanni Ugolini umanista e copista fiorentino", *Filologia e critica*, 9 (1984), 33-74.
- VALLA LAURENTIUS: Alberti G.B., "Lorenzo Valla traduttore di Tucide", in *Perosa*, pp. 243-253; — *Lorenzo Valla e l'umanesimo italiano. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi umanistici, Parma 18-19 ottobre 1984*, a cura di O. Besomi - M. Regoliosi, Medioevo e Umanesimo, 59 (Padova, Antenore, 1986); — De Panizza Lorch Maristella, "Virgil in Lorenzo Valla's Dialogue *On Pleasure*", in *Virgil*, pp. 33-56; — Ead., "Active and Contemplative in Lorenzo Valla: the Fusion of Opposites", in Vickers B. (ed.), *Arbeit-Musse-Meditation. Betrachtungen zur Vita activa und Vita contemplativa* (Zürich, Verlag der Fachvereine, 1985), pp. 181-223; — *De Professione religiosorum*, edidit Mariarosa Cortesi, Thesaurus Mundi, 25 (Padova, Antenore, 1986). Editio critica introductione amplissima, notis copiosissimis, indicibus verborum notabilium, auctorum, nominum et codicum manu scriptorum illustrata; — *The Profession of the Religious and the Falsely-Believed and Forged Donation of Constantine*. Translated and edited by Olga Z. Pugliese, Renaissance and Reformation Texts in Translation (Toron-

to, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Victoria University, Canada M5S 1K7, 1985); — McGrade A.S., "Ockham and Valla on Enjoyment and Pleasure", in *ACNS*, pp. 153-158; — Pade M., "The Place of Translation in Valla's Thought", *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 35 (1984), 285-306.

VARENNIUS JOANNES (Mechelen? - Leuven, 1537?): vide supra : Amerotius.

VERGERIUS PETRUS PAULUS Sr. : vide supra : Brunus L. : Zorzi.

VERGERIUS PETRUS PAULUS JR. (1498-1565): Tomizza F., *Il male viene dal Nord. Il romanzo del Vescovo Vergerio* (Milano, Mondadori, 1984). Est fabula romanensis magnae eruditionis (additis adnotatiunculis et indice bibliographico!).

VIGLIUS : Postma F., *Viglius van Aytta als humanist en diplomaat* (Diss. Groningen, Zutphen, De Walburg pers, 1983).

VIVES JOANNES LUDOVICUS : Bongiovanni Adriana, "Juan Luis Vives filosofo converso : interpretazioni storiografiche", *Il Confronto Letterario*, II (Pavia, 1985), num. 3, 53-67; — Dust Ph., "Luis Vives's Pacifist Sociology in *De Pacificatione*", in *ACNS*, pp. 211-216; — González González E., *Juan Luis Vives y la transición a la filosofía moderna. Un replanteamiento del problema* (Tesis... en filosofía) (Mexico, U.N.A.M., 1984). Opus maioris momenti; — Henderson J.R., "Defining the genre of the Letter: Juan Luis Vives' *De Conscribendis Epistolis*", *Renaissance and Reformation*, 19 (Mississauga, Ont., 1983), 89-105; — Matheeußen C., "The Date of the *Opuscula varia* of J.L. Vives", in *ACNS*, pp. 263-268; — Monzon A., "Joan-Lluis Vives. Orientacions per a una visió renovada", *Afers. Fulls de recerca i pensament*, 1 (Catarroja, 1985), 293-307; — Vosters S., "Doña Mencía de Mendoza, señora de Bredá y virreina de Valencia", *Cuadernos de Bibliofilia*, 13 (Abril 1985), 3-20; — Id., "Vives al hilo de algunas portadas", *Cuadernos de Bibliofilia*, 11 (Junio 1983), 25-42.

WILTHEIM ALEXANDER : Krier J. - Thill E., *Alexandre Wiltheim (1604-1684). Sa vie, son œuvre, son siècle. Bilan d'une exposition* (Luxembourg, Musée d'Histoire et d'Art, 1984).

ZENDERS GUILIELMUS : vide supra : 1.2. : Belgium : Damma.

## 5. INSCRIPTIONES

Stackmann K. (ed.), *Deutsche Inschriften. Fachtagung für mittelalterliche und neuzeitliche Epigraphik, Lüneburg, 1984. Vorträge und Berichte*, Abhandl. der Ak. der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philol.-Hist. Klasse, 3. Folge, Num. 151 (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1986). Agitur de corporibus inscriptionum Germaniae et Austriae tam Latine quam Germanice exaratarum.

## BERLIN

"Neuzeitliche lateinische Inschriften in Berlin (West), *Latein und Griechisch in Berlin. Mitteilungsblatt des Landesverbandes Berlin im Deutschen Altphilologenverband*, 28 (1984), 41-46.

## CARINTHIA

*Die Inschriften des Bundeslandes Kärnten*, vol. 1: *Die Inschriften der politischen Bezirke Spittal a.d. Drau und Hermagor*, gesammelt und bearbeitet, *Die deutschen Inschriften*, vol. 21, Wiener Reihe, vol. 2 (Wien, Österr. Akad. der Wiss., 1982).

## JUKKASJÄRVI (LAPPONIA SUECICA)

Uddholm A., "Jean François Regnards inskrift i Jukkasjärvi kyrka i Lappland — och Linné", *Eranos*, 83 (1985), 212-222 (cum summario Francogallico). Editur titulus metricus die 18 VIII 1681 in ecclesia Jukkasjervana apud Lappones positus a poeta Francogallico J. Fr. Regnard et comitibus; item alter titulus a Britone Aubry de la Motraye ibidem die 23 VIII 1718 conditus: in quo notes vocem 'lac rangiferinum' (reindeer milk).

## LÜNEBURG:

Michael E., *Die Inschriften des Lüneburger St. Michaeliskloster und des Klosters Lüne*, *Die deutschen Inschriften*, Göttinger Reihe, vol. 24 (Wiesbaden, L. Reichert, 1984).

## MAINZ

Arens F., *Mainzer Inschriften von 1651 bis 1800*, II: *Kirchen- und Profaninschriften*. Deutsche Übersetzungen von F. Weininger, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Mainz, Bd. 27 (Mainz, Stadtarchiv, 1985).

## ROMA

Guerrini Paola, "L'Epigrafia Sistina come momento della 'Restauratio Urbis'", in *Sisto IV*, pp. 453-468, — Guerrini Paola, Maddalo Silvia, Niutta Francesca, Porro Daniela, "Iscrizioni romane sistine", *ib.*, pp. 469-479; — Maddalo Silvia, "Il monumento funebre tra persistenze medioevali e recupero dell'antico", *ib.*, pp. 429-452; — Niutta Francesca, "Temi e Personaggi nell'epigrafia Sistina", *ib.*, pp. 381-408; — Porro Daniela, *La restituzione della capitale epigrafica nella scrittura monumentale: Epitafi ed iscrizioni celebrative*, *ib.*, pp. 409-427.

## 6. LATINITAS NOVISSIMA

COMMENTARII: *Latinitas* (Vaticano), *Vox Latina* (Univ. Saarbrücken, FB. 6.3), *Vita Latina* (Avignon, Aubanel), *Hermes Americanus* (Academia Latina Danburiensis, Box 322, Bethel, Conn.), *Tiro* (Bad Dürkheim, Beacon), *Rumor Varius* (AKAD, Pf. 883, CH-Zürich), *Melissa* (B-1040 Brussel, Tervurenlaan 76).

Complura carmina recentissima statis intervallis eduntur in commentariis q.t. *Giornale filologico Ferrarese* (poetae: Olyndus Pasqualetti, Iosephus Tusiani, Iosephus Venturini, alii).

Brocato P., "Assegnati i premi del XXVIII 'Certamen Vaticanum': la lingua latina 'cuore antico del nostro presente'", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 2-3 XII 1985, 4. Carmina: 1. Laurentius Viscido (New York), *Ad Lauram autoraeda fractam*; 2. Orestes Carbonero (Alessandria), *Totus tuus*; 3. Maurus Pisini

- (Arezzo), *Volucres*. Prosa oratio : 2. Nilus Casini (Firenze), *In sanguine Agni*; G. Angelino (Occimiano, Al.), *Paulus et Seneca*; 3. Orestes Carbonero, *Caritas de amore triumphans*.
- BROSCIUS MIECISLAUS : "Epitaphium Thaddaeo Zielinski", *Meander*, 40 (1985), 219-220. Carmen Latinum.
- FREIRE ANTONIUS S.J. : *Scripta Latina I* (Editiones Facultatis Philosophicae (Rua de S. Barnabé 42, 4719 Braga, Portugal), Braga, 1986).
- HUXLEY HERIBERTUS : "Jack and Jill", *Classical Outlook*, 62 (1984-1985), 100. Est poematum Latinum.
- JOANNES PAULUS II, "Oratio in fine Synodi Romanae, 7 XII 1985", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 8 XII 1985, 4. Additur Oratio Cardinalis Krol ad P.M. et patres synodales.
- MIORI LUCIANUS ( - Rovereto, 1985) : "Fata Romana", *Atti dell'Accademia Roveretana degli Agiati, Classe di scienze umane, di lettere ed arti*, ser. 6, 20 (1981), 91-102. Tria carmina, q.t. *Excidium Karthaginis*; *C. Gracchus*; *Getae Caesaris mors*; — "Vesper in Ripa Larii", *ib.*, 22 (1983), 321-330. Carmen polymetrum.
- PEKKANEN THOMAS : Pekkanen T. - Oksala T., "Kalevalan luomiskertomus Euroopan äidinkielellä", *Kanava*, 1 (1985), 35-37. Continet interpretationem Latinam carminis *Kalevala* l. 1-36 et l. 111-344; — Pekkanen T., "Kalevalan latinantamisesta" (Translating the Kalevala into Latin), *Jyväskylä Studies in the Arts*, 23 (1985), 103-111 (cum summario Anglico); — Sacré D., "De Kalevalaide e Fennico in Latinum nuperrime conversa", *Melissa*, num. 12 (m. Iunio 1986), 10-11.
- SAKSA RENATUS : *Lucere ubique lucernas caelestes. Narratio de itinere trans Pyrenaeos birota facto*. Quam narrationem R. Habitzky e Germanico convertit ... C. Eichenseer perpolivit (Leichlingen, R. Brune, 1982).
- Statuta Consilii Europae nec non conventio Europaea ad iura hominis et libertates fundamentales defendendas inita : textus quadrilingues Anglicus Francogallicus Theoticus atque omnium primum Latinus*, in Latinum verterunt I.P. Bauer et G. Niederländer (Saarbrücken, 1985).
- SYNODUS 1985 : Relatio finalis : *Osservatore Romano*, 10 X 1985, I-IV.
- VISCIDO LAURENTIUS : "Epigrammata (III)", *Meander*, 41 (1986), 114. Epigrammatis c.t. *Species fallax*, v. 2 legas 'quippe'; — "Autumnus", *Meander*, 40 (1985), 150. Est carmen Latinum; — Olivadoti G., "'Ad Lauram autoraeda fractam': Lorenzo Viscido alla ribalta del mondo poetico latino", *La Provincia di Catanzaro*, 5 (1986), num. 1, 81-87. Carmen in Certamine Vaticano (de quo supra) honestatum adiecta interpretatione Italica denuo editur adnotationibusque et praefatione illustratur.

## NUNTII

### 1.

Forthcoming (November 1986): *Colloquia Europalia*, vol. I: *Vives - Erasmus. Acta Colloquii Brugensis 23-26 IX 1985*. Ediderunt J. IJsewijn et A. Losada (Leuven-Belgium, Ed. Peeters), ca. 325 pp.

Contents:

1. Introduction — Introducción.
2. Discours d'ouverture — Conferencias inaugurales  
H. Brugmans, *Juan Luis Vives*  
A. Gerlo, *Erasmus*
3. Communications — Ponencias  
— La Pensée de Vives / El Pensamiento de Vives  
A. Fontán Pérez, *La política europea en la perspectiva de Vives*  
M. Sancipriano, *Problèmes de philosophie et de vie à travers les lettres de Vives, Bruges 1523-1534*.  
C. Matheussens, *De Subventionem Pauperum*.  
C.G. Noreña, *Agricola, Vives and the Low Countries*.  
— La diffusion des œuvres de Vives / La difusión de las obras de Vives  
R.P. Batllori, S.J., *Las obras de Vives en los colegios jesuiticos del siglo XVI*.  
A. Losada, *La huella de Vives en America*.  
— Vives et Érasme; l'érasmisme en Espagne / Vives y Erasmo; Erasmismo en España.  
J.L. Abellán, *El Erasmismo de Luis Vives*.  
J.F. Alcina Rovira, *Erasmismo y poesia en España*.  
† S. García Martínez, *El erasmismo en la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XVI*.  
— La famille de Vives / La Familia de Vives  
Angelina García Martínez, *Una familia de judio-conversos: Vives*.
4. Index nominum.

### 2.

The Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies will take place between 8-13 August, 1988, in Toronto, Canada. The Chairman of the organizing committee is Professor Germaine Warkentin, Director, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Victoria University in the University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 1K7.

# INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

## NOVA LEXICA

*Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis* : P - PANIS (Hafniae, 1985).

*Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi* : volumen III (D-E) completum est anno 1986.

*Lexicon mediae et infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*, VI 1 (45) : M-MATERNALIS (Cracoviae 1985).

## INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba, quae neque in *Thesauro Linguae Latinae* neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis* Forcelliniano reperiuntur. Ea autem, quae in lexicis et glossariis Mediae Latinitatis leguntur, stellula (\*) notavimus.

- \*Alphabeticus (ordo) : p. 192, 193; (-a connexio) : p. 219
- \*Bihorium, *two hours* : p. 151
- Birota, *bicycle* : p. 315
- \*Cardinalatus, -us, *a Cardinal's dignity* : p. 20
- \*Cardinalis : p. 101, 295
- \*Carnisprivium, *Shrovetide* : p. 291 (l. 5)
- \*Comes, *Count* : p. 138
- Conrector scholae : p. 230
- \*Extravagans : *not embodied in a collection* : p. 18, 19, 22, 24
- \*Frustraneus, -a, -um, *without reason* : p. 283
- Fumum sumere, *to smoke* : p. 155
- Gravipensilis, *weighty* : p. 59
- Hypotyposis, *essay, short treatise* : p. 133
- Illabefactabilis, *which cannot be overthrown* : p. 283
- \*Immoriger(us), *not accommodating to* : p. 151
- Iocoserius, *playful and serious* : p. 226, 227
- \*Marchio, *Margrave* : p. 294
- Meletema, *scholarly writing* : p. 179, 209
- \*Moralisatus, *moralised* : p. 5, 12, 14
- \*Papisticus, *papist* : p. 138, 144
- \*Parliamentum, *Parliament* : p. 145
- Pergraecari, *to talk Greek* : p. 143
- Perclitator, *challenger* : p. 136
- Philophylacium, *album amicorum* : p. 299
- \*Prodatarius, *a Vatican official* : p. 101
- Proiectamentum plebis, *dregs of society* : p. 283
- Rangiferinum lac, *reindeer milk* : p. 314
- Remonstrans, *Remonstrant* : p. 142
- Satisfacire = Satisfacere (erroneously) : p. 151
- Scaenum/Scaenosus = Caenum/Caenosus : p. 58
- Serpenticomus, *snake-haired* : p. 66
- Sexagecuplus, *sixtyfold* : p. 283
- \*Soloecissare, *to make grammatical mistakes* : p. 283
- Tractrix virtus, *moving power* : p. 159



- |   |  |
|---|--|
| Trigecuplus, <i>thirtyfold</i> : p. 283 | Valacra Urbs, <i>Middelburg on Wal-</i>      |
| Tumbetum, <i>churchyard</i> : p. 57     | <i>cheren, Zealand</i> : p. 179, 180         |
| Typographeium (p. 221) = typographia    | Voluptatula, <i>diminutive of Voluptas</i> : |
| (p. 222) = typographica officina        | p. 283                                       |
| (p. 223), <i>printing office</i>        |  |

Nova verba etiam invenies in Indice 3<sup>o</sup> novae editionis Oratorum Martini Dorpii. Vide *Instrumentum bibliographicum*: 4,2 s.v. Dorpius.

## INDICES

### 1. INDEX CODICUM MANU SCRIPTORUM

- Amsterdam, *Bibliotheek van de Universiteit van A'dam*, 1 : p. 176  
Amsterdam, *id.*, Ar 18 : p. 187  
Amsterdam, *id.*, As 3 : p. 183  
Amsterdam, *id.*, 1 Bn Nr. 8 et 9 : p. 202  
Escorial, G.iv.39 et K.iii.8 : p. 131  
Leiden, *Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit*, 736 : p. 197  
Leiden, *id.*, 736/I et II : p. 202; I : p. 203, 207 et 208  
Leiden, *id.*, Leid. Voss. IV 76 : p. 194  
Madrid, *Biblioteca Nacional*, 149 : p. 132  
Madrid, *id.*, 152 : p. 127, 135 et 136.  
Madrid, *id.*, 155 : p. 132  
Madrid, *id.*, 8558 : p. 131  
Madrid, *id.*, 9227 : p. 126  
Madrid, *id.*, 10029 : p. 197 et 203  
Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Rawlinson D 377/1-15 : p. 138; D 377/6 : p. 142  
Oxford, *id.*, Tanner 72/232 et 237 : p. 138  
Rotterdam, *Gemeentearchief*, 45 : p. 193  
Rotterdam, *id.*, 290 : p. 213  
Rotterdam, *id.*, 290a et b : p. 178  
Rotterdam, *id.*, 449 : p. 191  
Rotterdam, *id.*, 455, 463 et 680 : p. 192  
Vaticano, Barb. lat. 1967 : p. 76, 86-88  
Vaticano, Chisianus lat. J.iv.116 : p. 80  
Vaticano, Vat. lat. 6018 : p. 194

Codices fabularum Schonaeanae pp. 228-230 proponuntur.

### 2. INDEX NOMINUM SELECTORUM

Nomina in bibliographia Cornelii Schonaei obvia non repetivimus, quia in proprium indicem collecta sunt.

- Abbot *Archiepiscopus* : 138  
Accursius, Mariangelus : 187  
Aesopus : 1-20, 41  
*Aesopus Magdeburgensis* : 19  
Alaejos *prior* : 126  
Albanus, *Cardinalis* : 113  
Alberus, Erasmus : 3, 7, 11, 12, 14, 26  
Albinovanus Peto : 186  
Alciatus, Andreas : 74  
Alciatus, *Cardinalis* : 112  
Alcon : 102  
Aliger (Alighieri) *Reatinus* : 106  
Alkemade, Cornelius van - : 176, 177, 181, 202  
Alphonsus (Adelphonsus), Petrus : 7, 12, 18, 26, 28, 29  
Alzpilcuerta : 116  
Ambrosius, *Monachus Cassinas* : 114  
Amerinus, Quinctius : 104  
Ames, William : 143  
Andrelinus, Faustus : 51, 52, 54  
Angles, Josephus : 109  
*Anthologia Latina* : 193, 196  
Alanus *Anglus, Cardinalis* : 116  
Apuleius : 193, 194  
Aquila : 131  
Arckel, Cornelius van - : 169-218  
Arckel jr., Cornelius van - : 171, 204

- Arckel, Jan van -: 197  
 Argentea, Angelica : 114  
 Arias Montanus, Benedictus : 125-136  
 Aristophanes : 178  
 Aristoteles : 193  
 Arminius, Jacobus : 190  
 Artemisia, *Regina Cariae* : 113  
 Audoenus, Ludovicus : 89, 101, 107, 113, 114, 116  
 Aulus Gellius : 140  
 Ausonius : 187  
 Avalus, Thomas : 114  
 Avianus : 12, 15, 16, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29  
  
 Babrius : 15, 24, 26  
 Baers, Johannes : 175  
 Badius Ascensius, J. : 53  
 Balbus Hieronymus : 51  
 Baptista Mantuanus : 49, 52, 54  
 Barbarus, Hermolaus : 2  
 Barbatus Sulmonensis : 77  
 Barthius, Caspar : 187, 198, 203  
 Bartholomaeus de Schalis Sulmonensis : 78  
 Baselius, Jacobus : 140  
 Basire (Isaac?), (James?) : 139, 140, 141, 144, 147, 148, 154, 157, 158  
 Bastwick, John : 137-158  
 Baudius, Dominicus : 179  
 Bajus (De Bay), Michael : 129  
 Bayle, Pierre : 191  
 Bellarminus, Robertus : 133  
 Ben Asher : 128  
 Bencius, Franciscus : 79, 90, 91  
 Bentley, Richard : 185, 186  
 Bernizius, Carolus : 173, 174  
 Bilderdijk, Willem : 206, 211  
 Blockerus, Gerardus : 213  
 Boccaccio, Giovanni : 27  
 Bochart, Samuel : 194  
 Boner, Ulrich : 7, 13, 19, 24, 26, 27  
 Bonifacius, Natalis : 115  
 Bonucius, *Episcopus Aretinus* : 110  
 Bordinus, Jo. Franciscus : 101  
 Borrichius, Olaus : 198  
 Borromaeus, Fredericus : 100, 101  
 Bos, Petrus : 171, 181, 186, 211, 212  
 Boxhornius, Marcus Zuerius : 139  
  
 Brandt, Anna : 213  
 Brandt, Geeraerd : 181, 184, 212  
 Brandt, Joannes : 181, 184  
 Brandt, Kaspar : 181, 212  
 Brant, Sebastianus : 3, 5, 26, 27, 28, 29  
 Bremer, Johannes : 171, 177  
 Broukhusius, Janus : 177, 178, 179, 180, 183, 185, 208  
 Buckingham : vide Villiers  
 Burman, Kaspar : 169  
 Burmannus, Petrus sr. : 169, 172, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 196, 203  
 Burmannus, Petrus jr. : 188  
 Burton, Henry : 137  
  
 Callimachus : 194  
 Camerarius, Joachim : 3, 24  
 Cange, du, vide : Fresne  
 Cansachius, Vincentius : 106  
 Cantalapedra : 133  
 Capilupus, Prosper : 107  
 Carafa, Alexander, *Cardinalis* : 109  
 Carafa, Fabricius : 89, 110  
 Carolus V Imperator : 109  
 Casalius, Vincentius : 110  
 Casaubonus, Isaac : 198  
 Castaneus, Ludovicus : 107  
 Castellanus, Camillus : 104  
 Cattenburg, Adriaan van - : 171, 186, 187, 189, 192, 197  
 Catullus : 57, 75, 178, 183, 195, 196, 202  
 Caxton, William : 1, 5, 6  
 Cecchonus, Alphonsus : 89, 111  
 Cecius, Flavius : 103  
 Celtis, Conradus : 51  
 Chaucer, Geoffrey : 27  
 Chytraeus, Nathan : 17  
 Cicero : 41, 52, 140, 154, 178  
 Ciofanus, Hercules : 79, 80, 82, 83, 84  
 Ciofanus, Marcus Antonius : 80, 81, 82  
 Claudianus : 49, 162, 190  
 Clavaerius, Jacobus : 113  
 Clericus, Johannes : 170, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190, 192, 208  
 Coesius, Ludovicus, *Abbas Claravallensis* : 112  
 Columna (Colonna), Marcus Antonius : 114

- Comenius, J. Amos : 159-169  
 Cordus, Euricius : 56  
 Corippus, Flavius Cresconius : 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 210, 211  
 Cornelius, *Cardinalis* : 105, 109  
 Cornelius Nepos : 178  
 Corrarius, Gregorius : 2  
 Cotta, Constantia : 112  
 Cotta, Marcus : 112  
 Cotta, Marius : 106  
 Cuiacius, Jacobus : 101  
 Cuspinianus (Spieshammer), Johannes : 202, 203, 204  
 Cyprianus : 51  
 .  
 Dantiscus, Johannes : 49  
 Datus, Leonardus : 2  
 Daum, Christian : 203  
 De Groot, Pieter : 212  
 De Haes, F. : 181, 185  
 Delphinus, *Cardinalis* : 105  
 Demetrius, Johannes : 102  
 Demius, Jacobus : 114  
 Dempster, Thomas : 198, 201, 205  
 De Pauw, Cornelius : 186  
 Dorislaus, Isaac : 151, 153, 158  
 Dorpius, Martinus : 3, 4, 12, 14, 23, 26, 35  
 Doyon, Claudius : 111  
 Dracontius : 197  
 Drieberge, Joannes : 192  
 .  
*Ecclesiasticus* : 41  
 Enden, Abraham van den - : 190  
 Ennius : 178, 210  
 Eobanus Hessus, Helius : 48-60  
 Erasmus : 30-47, 48-60, 170, 185, 283-285  
 Eschenbachius, Andreas Christianus : 175  
 Eugenius Toletanus : 197  
 .  
 Farnesius, *Cardinalis* : 109  
 Festus : 143, 180  
 Field, Theophilus : 138  
 Flamma, Dominicus : 112  
 Flavius Josephus : 130  
 Flud van Giffen, David : 176, 177  
 Fontana, Dominicus : 109  
 .  
 Francius, C. : 212  
 Francius, Petrus : 181, 208  
 Fresne, Charles du -, sieur du Cange : 199  
 Fridiano, John B. : 138  
 Fulvius, Hercules : 110  
 .  
 Gabbema, A.S. : 201, 205  
 Gaguin, Robert : 125  
 Galle, Philippe : 129  
 Gallinarius Budorinus, Ioannes : 54  
 Gallus, Pontius : 112  
 Gavardo, Lelio : 86  
 Geel, Joost van - : 212  
 Génébrard : 133  
 Genga, C. Hieronymus : 106  
 Gerhard von Minden : 7, 19, 24, 26  
 Gesualdus, Alphonsus : 105  
 Gomarus, Franciscus : 190  
 Gonzaga, Scipio, *Cardinalis* : 115  
 Gorallus, Theodorus : *vide* Clericus  
 Graevius, Johannes Georgius : 172, 187  
 Grassius, Bartholus : 115  
 Graziani, Orazio : 79, 90, 91, 115  
 Gregorius XIII : 109  
 Gretser, Jacobus : 199  
 Gronovius, Jacobus : 172, 185  
 Gronovius, Johannes Fridericus : 172  
 Grotius, Hugo : 172, 179, 185, 186, 212  
 Gruterus, Isaac : 170  
 Gualtherus Anglicus : 18  
 Guarino : *vide* Varinus  
 Guarinus Veronensis : 2  
 Gudius, M. : 178  
 .  
 Heinsius, Daniel : 78, 172, 179  
 Heinsius, Nicolaus : 172, 173, 179, 186, 203  
 Hemsterhusius, Tiberius : 172, 201  
 Henryson, Robert : 1, 12, 13  
 Hesiodus : 155  
 Hesselius, Franciscus : 177, 178, 180, 181, 183, 184, 207, 208  
 Hieronymus : 129, 130, 133  
 (Pseudo-)Hieronymus : 133  
 Hilarides, Johannes : 208  
*Historia Augusta* : 196  
 Hofhout, Johannes : 175, 181

- Homerus : 41, 42, 140  
 Hoogstratanus, David : 177, 178, 181, 184, 185, 188, 189, 208  
 Hoogvliet, Arnold : 213  
 Horatius : 27, 41, 42, 75, 90, 178, 185, 195, 196, 210  
 Horatius, *Princeps Academiae [Romanae]* : 111  
 Hornanus, Adrianus : 178  
 Hosius, Stanislaus : 109  
 Hrabanus Maurus : 49, 56, 133  
 Huerga, Cipriano de la : 129  
 Huarte de San Juan : 129  
  
 Isidorus : 8, 9, 194  
  
 Jewel : 133  
 Johannes Sarisberiensis : 52  
 Jordanus, Paulus : 114  
 Julianus F. : 109  
 Junius, Hadrianus : 176, 177, 179, 180, 210  
 Justianianus, *Cardinalis* : 113  
 Justinus II : 197  
 Juvenalis : 43, 44, 129, 132  
 Juvencus : 49, 197  
  
 Kindler, Johannes : 174  
 Kirchhof : 8, 11, 20, 23  
 Klinkhamer, Vincentius : 192  
 Küster, Ludolf : 172  
  
 Laberius : 196  
 Lagendaal, Johannes : 192  
 Lambecius, Petrus : 203  
 Lancilotti Fratres : 111  
 Landinus, Christophorus : 49  
 Lanen, Sebastiaan van der - : 171, 201, 212, 213  
 Lascaris : 112  
 Laud, William : 137  
 Laurus, Vincentius : 107  
 Leers, Rainier : 181  
 Leighton, Alexander : 137  
 Leonardo da Vinci : 2  
 Lessing, G.E. : 9, 20, 24  
 Lessius (Leys) Leonardus : 129  
 Limborch, Philipp von - : 170, 186, 187, 188, 191, 192  
 Lindanus, Gulielmus : 133  
 Lindenbruchius, Fridericus : 186  
 Lipsius, Justus : 78, 79, 187  
 Listrius, Gerardus : 40, 43  
 Locher, Jacobus : 51  
 Loragus, Jo. Baptista : 110  
 Lucanus : 50, 178  
 Lucianus : 38, 41  
 Lucretius : 49, 191, 195, 196  
 Ludovicus, Jo. Baptista, *Signinus* : 106  
 Luis de León : 131, 133  
 Luther, Martinus : 3, 8, 11, 12, 17, 19, 23  
 Lygdamus : 75  
  
 Machiavelli, Niccoló : 44  
 Macho, Julien : 1  
 Macrobius : 208  
 Madrucius, *Cardinalis* : 116  
 Manners, Roger : 139, 141, 143, 144, 153, 154, 157, 158  
 Manosius, Petrus : 111  
 Manutius, Aldus Jr. : 78, 84, 86, 87, 90  
 Manutius, Aldus Sr. : 78  
 Manutius, Paulus : 78, 81, 82  
 Maphaeus, Benedictus : 107  
 Maphaeus, Achilles : 89, 98, 105  
 Maphaeus, Hieronymus : 89, 101, 104, 105  
 Marianus, Carolus : 107  
 Marinus, Franciscus : 114  
 Marinus, P(ater?) : 102  
 Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde, Ph. : 129  
 Maro, Fulgentius : 116  
 Martialis : 52, 178, 180, 189, 190, 196, 202, 208  
 Martialis (*Romanus saec. XVI*) : 115  
 Martinez : 134  
 Martinus *Belga* : 111  
 Massarius, Horatius : 114  
 Mathesius : 10, 19  
 Matius, Cn. : 180  
 Medicis, Ferdinandus de, *Cardinalis* : 109  
 Melissus, Paulus : 79  
 Menander : 185  
 Merode, Philippus et Ricardus de - : 115

- Michael-Angelus, *Pictor* : 110  
 Mildmay, Humphrey : 151  
 Milton, J. : 74, 75  
 Miticinellus, Julius : 110  
 Molinaeus, Johannes : 171  
 Mollenbecius, B.L. : 175  
 Montaltus, *Cardinalis* : 113  
 Montevalens : 101  
 Monticula, Lavinia : 112  
 Morton, John : 157  
 Morus, Thomas : 46  
 Münster, Sebastianus : 133  
 Muratori, L.A. : 76  
 Muretus, M. Antonius : 76, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 91, 106, 111, 116  
 Muretus, M. Antonius, jr. : 89, 91, 115  
 Murmellius, Jacobus : 49, 51  
 Mutianus, Rufus : 56  
  
 Navarrus : 112  
 Nemesianus : 196  
 Nevelet, J.W. : 12  
 Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus : 199  
 Nicolaus de Lyra : 39, 40, 44, 45  
 Nonnus : 194  
  
 Oldenbarnevelt, Johan van - : 196  
 Omnibonus Leonicens (Ognibene da Lonigo) : 2  
 Onqelos : 130  
 Oropesa, Sanchez de : 127  
 Ostens, Gijsbertus : 190  
 Oudaan, J. : 181, 185  
 Oudenaerde, Marinus : 213  
 Ovidius : 27, 51, 52, 72, 73, 76, 77, 80, 178, 189, 190, 195, 196, 210, 213  
 (Pseudo-)Ovidius : 186  
  
 Pagnini, Santi : 130  
 Palatius, Tarquinius : 102, 106  
 Palearius, Aonius : 177  
 Palingenius, Marcellus : 180, 181  
 Palutius, Jacobus : 105  
 Pannicarola, Franciscus : 113  
 Paracelsus, Theophrastus : 159  
 Parson : 140, 141, 142, 143  
 Patin, Charles : 199  
  
 Pauli, Johannes : 8, 20  
 Paulus Diaconus : 180  
 Pedersen, Christian : 6  
 Pelleus, Evangelista : 109  
 Perez, Antonius : 102, 108  
 Perez del Collado, Francisco : 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 133, 134  
 Pérez de Valencia, Jacobus : 133  
 Perizonius, Jacobus : 172, 185, 208  
 Persius : 196  
 Petrarca, Fr. : 78  
 Petronius : 186, 189, 191  
 Pfeiffer, Joh. Philipp : 174, 194  
 Phaedrus : 7, 14, 178, 184  
 Phaeus, Laurentius : 112  
 Philargyrius, Junius : 107  
 Philemon : 185  
 Pico della Mirandola, J. : 52  
 Pierbenedictus, *Episcopus Martoranus* : 108  
 Pithoeus, Petrus : 187  
 Plantinus, Christ. : 126, 197  
 Planudes, Maximus : 9  
 Plato : 37, 38  
 Plautus : 58, 140, 143, 146, 154  
 Plinius Minor : 140, 153, 155, 193  
 Poe, Leonard : 144  
 Poggio Bracciolini, N. : 7, 8, 12, 17, 26, 27, 28, 29, 78  
 Polanus : 133  
 Politianus, Angelus : 74, 80  
 Pontanus, Johannes Jovianus : 52  
 Poot, H.C. : 184, 185, 213  
 Principius, Federicus : 116  
 Propertius : 52, 177, 178, 195, 196  
 Probus de Marianis : 78  
 Prynne, William : 137  
 Pythagoras : 38  
  
 Quatrarius, Iohannes : 77  
  
 Radivilus, Georgius : 89, 103  
 Ranalli, Federigo : 78  
 Ranalli, Marino : 78  
 Raphael *Urbinas, pictor* : 106  
 Raphelingius : 130  
 Rechenberg, Adam : 174  
 Regimorterus, Ambrosius : 157

- Relandus, Hadrianus : 179  
 Riga, Petrus : 51  
 Rimicius : *vide* Rinuccius  
 Rinuccius Aretinus : 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25  
 Riparius, Alexander : 104  
 Rittershusius, N. et C. : 198, 201  
 Rivinus, Andreas : 187, 201  
 Robertus, *Dux ab Altaemps* : 112  
 Roccha, Marsilia de - : 113  
 Roccha, Philippus de - : 113, 114  
 Rodolphus, Petrus : 104  
 Rogers, Richard : 137  
 Rollenhagen, Georg : 20, 23  
 Romulus : 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28  
 Roscius *Hortinus*, Julius : 76-124  
 Roscius, Teodosius : 114  
 Roscius, Thomas : 106  
 Rovere/Ruere, *Cardinalis della* : 101  
 Ruiz de Assagra, Miguel : 197, 198, 201, 205  
 Ruynen, Isaac van - : 173  
  
 Sabelli, Jacopo : 85, 91, 106, 107, 113  
 Sachs, Hans : 11, 12, 17, 23  
 Sackville, Edward : 138  
 Sacratius (Sagrati), Paulus : 79  
 Saftleven, Cornelis : 197  
 Sagittarius, Gaspar : 174  
 Salmasius, Cl. : 187  
 Sangrinus, Angelus, *Abbas Casinensis* : 107, 113, 115  
 Sannazarius, Jacobus : 177  
 Sanseverinus, *Cardinalis* : 115  
 Saracenus, Dominicus : 114  
 Sarbievius, Mathias C. : 210  
 Sarpi, Paolo : 79  
 Saureus, Vincentius *Cardinalis* : 110  
 Scaliger, J.J. : 186, 187  
 Scheltinga, Catharina : 171  
 Schonaeus, Cornelius : 219-282  
 Schottius, Andreas : 195  
 Schütze, Gaspar : *vide* Sagittarius  
 Scriverius, Petrus : 187  
 Secundus, Janus : 60-75  
 Sedulius, Caelius : 197  
  
 Seggesser, Jodocus : 102  
 Sempronia, Proba : 116  
 Seneca, L. Annaeus : 84, 91, 162, 170, 196  
 Serenus, Franciscus Antonius : 112  
 Sfondratus, Nicolaus : 105  
 Sigüenza, José de - : 127  
 Sirletus, Gulielmus : 78, 79  
 Sixtus V : 101, 107, 115  
 Sixtus, F., *sacri Palatii magister* : 106  
 Spanhemius, Ezech. : 187, 199  
 Statius : 49, 178, 193  
 Steinhöwel, Heinrich : 1-29  
 Stella, *Abbas S. Pauli Urbis* : 115  
 Stolker, Jan : 196  
 Strozza, Titus Vesp. : 51  
 Suderman, J. : 181, 212  
 Suetonius : 140, 142, 143, 178, 194, 198  
*Suidas* : 194  
 Sylvius, Johannes : 170  
  
 Tachellus, Bartholomaeus : 106  
 Tacitus : 195  
 Tasca, Laurentius : 101  
 Terentius : 143  
 Texelius, Johannes : 173, 174  
 Texelius, Petrus : 174  
 Theocritus : 53, 194  
 Theophrastus : 194  
 Thomas Massanensis : 115  
 Thomasius, Joachimus : 105  
 Tibullus : 177, 185, 195, 196  
 Tiraboschi, Gerolamo : 76  
 Torres, Ludovicus de - : 89, 114, 115  
 Tryphiodorus : 194  
 Tuallardus, Jo. : 115  
 Tyberinus : 13  
 Tyberinus : *vide* Clavaerius  
 Tydeman, H.W. : 205, 206, 211  
  
 Ugonia, Laura : 102  
 Ugonius, Pompeius : 85, 86, 89, 90, 92, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 113, 114, 115  
 Ulpianus : 286  
 Umpton, Eduardus : 106  
 Ursinus (Orsini), Camillus : 112  
 Ursinus (Orsini), Fulvius : 79, 89, 98, 107

- Ursinus (Orsini), Latinus : 107  
 Urs(i)us Aurelius : 89, 98, 105, 114  
  
 Valerius, Augustinus : 105  
 Valerius Flaccus : 195  
 Valerius Maximus : 178  
 Valla, Laurentius : 2, 26, 28, 77  
 Valtanás : 129  
 Varesi(n)a, Catarilla : 102, 109  
 Varesia, Julia : 109  
 Varinus (Guarino), Phavorinus : 194  
 Varmotta, Antonius : 114  
 Varro, M. Terentius : 193, 286  
 Vega, Andrés de - : 131  
 Venantius, Fortunatus : 56, 197, 285  
 Verecundus : 197  
 Vergilius : 27, 42, 49, 51, 56, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 90, 140, 178, 193, 194, 195, 196  
 Verrius Flaccus : 180  
 Verryn, Paulus : 192  
 Verwey, Johann : 175  
 Verwey, Rainier : 175  
 Verwey, Theodoor : 175  
 Vibius Sequester : 178, 180  
 Vicecomes (Visconti), Prosper : 115  
 Victorius (Vettori), Petrus : 79  
  
 Villiers, George : 138, 139  
 Vinetus, Elias : 187  
 Viseus, Andreas : 102  
 Vlaming, Pieter : 177, 178, 184, 185  
 Vollenhove, J. : 181  
 Vonck, Cornelius : 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 211  
 Vossius, Gerhardus Johannes : 172, 198  
 Vossius, Isaac : 172  
  
 Waldis, Burkhard : 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, 19, 20, 23, 26  
 Wetstein, J.J. : 192  
 Wickram : 8  
 Wonna, Georg : 175  
 Wyle, Nikolaus von : 4  
  
 Ya'aqob ben Hayyim : 128  
  
 Zainer, Gunther : 5  
 Zainer, Johann : 1, 4, 5  
 Zambeccari, Pompeo : 79, 80  
 Zarotus, Anton : 20  
 Zayas : 127  
 Zeeus, Jacob : 184, 185  
 Zonaras : 199





HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA  
(JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES)

Ed. Prof. Dr. J. IJSEWIJN

Volume XVII,	1968, 162 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XVIII,	1969, 164 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XIX,	1970, 514 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XX,	1971, 297 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXI,	1972, 412 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXII,	1973, 341 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXIII,	1974, 441 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXIV,	1975, 376 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXV,	1976, 306 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXVI,	1977, 280 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXVII,	1978, 366 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXVIII,	1979, 386 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXIX,	1980, 353 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXX,	1981, 278 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXXI,	1982, 256 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXXII,	1983, 471 p. — 2300 fr.
Volume XXXIII,	1984, 366 p. — 2300 fr.
Volume XXXIV,	1985, 513 p. — 2300 fr.

SUPPLEMENTA HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

1. *Iohannis Harmonii Marsi De rebus italicis deque triumpho Ludovici XII regis Francorum Tragoedia*, ed. G. TOURNOY, 1978.
2. *Charisterium H. De Vocht 1878-1978*, ed. J. IJSEWIJN & J. ROEGIER, 1979.
3. *Judocus J. C. A. Crabeels. Odae Iscanæ. Schuttersfeest te Overijse (1781)*, ed. J. IJSEWIJN, G. VANDE PUTTE & R. DENAYER, 1981.
4. *Erasmiana Lovaniensia. Cataloog van de Tentoonstelling, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leuven, november 1986 (1986)*.